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BOLŞEVİK PARTİZAN

THE ONLY WAY TO ACCOMPLISH REAL PEACE AND ESTABLISH THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC IS REVOLUTION!

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THE ONLY WAY TO ACCOMPLISH REAL PEACE AND ESTABLISH THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC IS REVOLUTION!

UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF CEASE-FIRE BY THE PKK

Abdullah Öcalan, chairman of the PKK and honour chairman of the KNK (National Congress of Kurdistan), who is in the hands of the fascist Turkish State as prisoner and sentenced to death in a show trial, let spread through his lawyers a statement on August 2, 1999, in which he called on the PKK to stop the armed struggle from September 1, 1999, onwards and draw its armed forces out of the borders of the Turkish Republic.

Likewise, the PKK Leadership Council disclosed on August 5, 1999, that they will follow Öcalan's call. In a statement on August 6, 1999, in the name of the ARGK it was said: *"We comprehend Öcalan's order to stop the war from September 1 onwards as an order and will execute it in closed order by way of order and command."* (All quotations from the statements of the PKK Central Committee or the institutions standing under its leadership are taken from different issues of the newspaper "Özgür Politika".)

The PKK Leadership Council disclosed in a statement to the press on 25th August the beginning of the "withdrawal". Because of the earthquake disaster, we have begun earlier with the withdrawal, emphasised the statement, and in line with Öcalan's call of August 2 the war has been finished. As with the preceding declarations of cease-fire by the PKK, this decision "to end the war" was also proclaimed unilaterally. At no time did the Turkish republic stop the war for suppressing the Kurdish national liberation movement. The state, not present in the aftermath of the earthquake, went on with the war in North Kurdistan and South Kurdistan also after the declared end of the war and the withdrawal of armed forces by the PKK with all force. In a statement broadcast on 2nd September on Medya TV, Osman Öcalan made the following remarks in this connection: *"The operations are preventing us from leaving Turkey in a short time."* That is, the renunciation of war by the PKK did not mean the state also finished the war.

IS THERE SOMETHING NEW?

Although **"stopping the armed struggle"** actually means something new for Abdullah Öcalan and the PKK, which comprehends each of his words as a directive, this **is not a qual-**

itative change, contrary to what many revolutionary groups and persons believe and contend together with various open reformists who at no time have ever been revolutionary. Many revolutionary groups and persons who do not approach questions from Marxist-Leninist positions were completely flabbergasted in the face of this step by the PKK. The continuing appeals and commentaries in the PKK-controlled press to"comprehend the Chairman right", but also the decision of the Enlarged Plenum of the PKK Central Committee to convene a congress after "making the New Manifesto conceivable to the cadres and masses(!)" etc. show that the PKK circles were also similarly confused.

The general explanation furnished by a number of non-Marxist-Leninist revolutionary groups on this question tends to the view that Abdullah Öcalan and the PKK changed their line and strategy above all during the Imrali* * Imrali is an island in the Marmara See, where Öcalan is being kept in prison and was put on trial since he was brought back to Turkey. *Translator's Note.*period. This view has many variations, but its essence remains the same. According to this view, the PKK changed from a revolutionary to a reformist group during the Imrali period, to put it crudely. Some groups like the PSK (Socialist Party of Kurdistan), the erstwhile defender of Russian social imperialism, and later an appendage of Western imperialist powers, just like some non-Marxist-Leninist revolutionary groups, also contend that the PKK changed its nature qualitatively, and rejoice: "Haven't we long since said that one can reach nothing at all with the armed struggle? Now they also came to see the point." Their position is really completely impudent. When

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they can run around today as chess figures likely to be brought into play by different imperialist powers and directly by the Turkish Republic for a solution to the "Kurdish question", then only for the reason that the existence of the Kurdish question had to be recognised both in Turkey as well as in the international arena through the armed struggle waged foremost under the leadership of the PKK. It was particularly this armed struggle which made one president of the Turkish Republic say: "We can talk over a federation", and one premier: "We recognise the Kurdish reality"! The fact that the PKK calls for an end to armed struggle today, does not show the wrongness of the armed struggle, but solely that of the position the PKK reached today.

Those who maintain the PKK has become only now reformist, as well as those who maintain the developments show that the armed struggle was wrong, approach the questions shallowly, and do not get to the essence of the developments.

WHEREIN LIES THE NEW?

There is indeed something apparently new. The PKK, one of the belligerents in this low intensity war waged in North Kurdistan (occasionally also overlapping to South and East Kurdistan) up to September 1, 1999, now declares that it is ending the war and drawing its (fighting) forces out of the borders of the Turkish Republic, taking concrete steps in this direction. In this sense, the new consists in this one step further than its unilateral declarations of cease-fire to date. Now there is an open statement of renouncing the armed struggle and deploying all forces only by diplomatic methods and methods of peaceful political struggle. But this is not a transition from revolutionism to reformism, but the development of the PKK's reformist line to its logical consequences.

We Communists assess this last step of the PKK from the point of view of revolution in North Kurdistan/Turkey as a step that puts one armed force fighting the Turkish Republic out of combat, thereby strengthening the Turkish Republic, and regard this development as harming the revolutionary movement in general. The reason for this is not that the PKK and the war waged by it were revolutionary. No, because, as one could see at the latest from the unilateral cease-fire announced by the PKK in 1993 and the grounds given for it, the PKK has been waging this war with the aim of coming to terms with the State of the Turkish Republic on a reformist solution marked by the PKK as a "political solution", with the aim of being accepted by the Turkish Republic as a party to the solution of the problem. (For our stance on the unilateral cease-fire declaration on Newroz 1993 see *Bolshevik Partisan* # 81, 1993, pp 8-14, "The Unilateral Cease-Fire and Its Aftermath ...)

As everyone — who does not have blinkers on and who wants to see — could clearly see at the latest after the cease-fire declaration of 1993, the aim of this war was not to overthrow the fascist state by revolution, establish an "independent Kurdistan" etc. It was a war in order to push — through a constitutional amendment and through reforming the laws of the Turkish Republic — a "political solution" for the Kurdish question. Still, this war had also a just aspect from the viewpoint of the PKK, as it opposed the national oppression by the Turkish Republic, binding a great part of the armed forces of the Turkish Republic, dealing

blows at it, weakening it, exposing the true face of the Turkish Republic in the eyes of the popular masses in Kurdistan, playing a positive role in preparing the ground for a revolutionary movement of workers and toilers. In this sense, the decision on the part of the PKK to discontinue the armed struggle is a decision weakening the revolutionary struggle and strengthening the Turkish Republic and the imperialist powers behind it. In effect this is a step which suits the Turkish Republic and the imperialists, and relieves them. It is clear: the call to take this step came from the imperialists and the Turkish Republic and this step is an answer on the part of the PKK to the partially open, partially secret bargaining. Even when one knows only the fact that Öcalan is a prisoner in the hands of the Turkish Republic, that all of his lines of communications with the outside world are controlled by the Turkish Republic, and that the state has the possibility of preventing the transmission of all communications which it does not want to let get through to the outside, one can see to what extent the decision to lay down weapons unilaterally is the result of a "free will". The decision to "stop the armed struggle and withdraw its forces from the Turkish Republic" is an answer on the part of the PKK to such developments as the visit paid by the Assistant Secretary of State of the USA, Koh, to Turkey, who recommended and demanded a "peaceful solution to the Kurdish question", similar demands made by the USA and the EU, Demirel's declaration after a meeting with Clinton that *"The death sentence against Abdullah Öcalan is one of the most important decisions of the last years"*, therefore "great circumspection" was "necessary in this question"; deescalation of the chauvinist incitement campaign "Hang him" organised in the name of the "martyr families" during the Imrali trials, where even the most rabid PKK enemies and perpetrators of the most disgusting chauvinistic campaign in the press like Çölaşan, Altaylı etc. reached the point of saying: "Actually, after condemning him to capital punishment, it may be better for the interests of Turkey not to execute this sentence, but to hold Abdullah Öcalan as a hostage in the hand, in order to bring down the PKK from the mountains", the visit paid by Çevik Bir (former general in the National Security Council) to Imrali before August 2 etc. etc.

The PKK declared that, when the Turkish Republic on its part replies to this step with a step towards incorporating the PKK into the Turkish Republic – for example, abolishing the death penalty, declaring an amnesty, or at least stopping or putting off the execution of the death sentence against Abdullah Öcalan, etc. –, it is ready on its part to play the role of a direct force of the Turkish Republic which offers her its services in strengthening her... But for the time being, the Turkish Republic showed with its enacted "remorse" law, in reality an appeal to open treachery, and excluding all leading cadres, that its steps in the direction demanded by the PKK will be minimal. But this does not prevent the PKK from continuing its steps to reconcile itself unilaterally with the Turkish republic, foist itself onto her and find a place in her ranks. In his statement on September 2 quoted above, Osman Öcalan says: *"Even if no solution is reached, the PKK will never ever return to the armed struggle again"*, showing the consistent determination (!) of the PKK in this question.

YES, PEACE! YES, A DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC! BUT HOW?

STARTING POINT IN ÖCALAN'S DEFENCE: THE INTERESTS OF TURKEY!

The PKK Secretary-General and the PKK, declaring him to "our sun", looking for a prophecy so to speak in each of his words and actions, and showing its determination to follow him, contend that they take all these steps for the sake of an "honourable peace" and a "democratic republic".

In his defence speech before the court of the ruling classes of the Turkish Republic accusing him of "high treason" and certain to condemn him to capital punishment, the Secretary-General of the PKK Abdullah Öcalan said (*): *"It is my most fundamental democratic ideal, that my process becomes the starting point for an honourable peace."*

In his whole defence, he was looking for an answer to the question of *"how a historic compromise and the possibility of a solution can be developed in the Kurdish question and for the last riot under PKK's leadership "*.

The Kurdish question was "a social sore", whose product is the PKK. His goal was to *"transform the Kurdish question from an illness causing constant pain to our republic to a healthy part and a peace force of this republic"*.

On the question of peace, just as on the question of democracy and the Kurdish question, he refers to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, clearly taking him as his model, and says:

"Deeply conscious of the fact that without a just and honourable peace life has neither in the country nor in the world any value, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk saw this before all others, and coined the slogan: 'Peace in the country, peace in the world.' This principle of Atatürk is all the more our life principle."

The way to accomplish an honourable peace leads, according to Öcalan's statements in his defence speech, over "the democratic republic", which is "Turkey's future". According to him the Turkish Republic has put itself the goal of democratic republic, and has already gained ground on the way towards it. But there are still some unresolved questions. One of them is the question of Kurds, "presenting an important social force, and keeping this alive in frequent riots". The Kurdish question will be solved "within the state borders of the Turkish Republic" in a "democratic unity". According to Abdullah Öcalan the solution of this question is essentially not a political question, but involves the "freedom of language and culture". "The question of the freedom of language and culture in the Kurdish society makes up the vital essence of this question". "The military approach and the approach of armed force lost every sense for solving the problem, and must be given up". "Democratic unity with the Republic means altogether the end of the period of riots, and a development and strengthening in lasting peace". "A series of illegal organisations headed by the PKK must along with the peace adjust themselves to a period of normal political and legal activities." With the solution of the Kurdish question in this way, the question "fettering Turkey's development" will disappear, and thus "pave the way for powerfully strengthening Turkey".

Over the advantages the Turkish Republic would have with such a solution, Öcalan says:

"When this most difficult question of the history of the Republic is solved, it is certain that, with the might it draws from internal peace, Turkey will attain the vigour she deserves as the leading country in the region. The period of exercising this leadership in the Middle East will mean having influence from Central Asia up to the Balkans and the Caucasus. The ability of the democratic system to present solutions will lead to providing and being called upon to provide a justified intervention and support in these regions with many contradictions and questions, before all, the question of peace. At the same time, the developed economy and cultural development will be transmitted, opening the way for further evolution. Turkey is entering the third millennium with this perspective."

A.ÖCALAN'A ÖZGÖRLÜK_FREIHEIT FÜR ÖCALAN
BOLŞEVİK PARTİ İNŞASI İÇİN-JI BO ŞAZBUNA PARTIYA BOLŞEWİK
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PARTİZAN

Abdullah Öcalan, Secretary-General of the organisation declared by the Turkish Republic to its main enemy, who is sentenced to death by this state and is called in the bourgeois media still as "terror chief" and "traitor to the fatherland", takes himself in his defence speech the strengthening of the Turkish Republic as his starting point. He substantiates the necessity of solving the Kurdish question with his concern for strengthening the Turkish Republic. He argues for a solution to the Kurdish question from this viewpoint and with this goal in mind!

ÖCALAN'S MAGIC WORD FOR SOLVING ALL SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN THE WORLD IS: BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY!

Öcalan has a solution at hand not only for Kurdistan-Turkey, but for the whole world. According to him the solution "lies in the democratic system". In his opinion, "with the dissolution of the socialist system and its transformation into democracies since the beginning of the nineties, the great victory of democracy is only at its beginning."

What Öcalan marks as "the democratic system", is nothing but what Lenin named as "reaction all along the line" in the era of imperialism, i.e., bourgeois democracy, one of the forms of political power of the bourgeoisie. This system, always carrying fascism in itself, and transforming into fascism when the conditions make it necessary, is for Öcalan the system of the 21st century, of the future! His basic reference in this connection is the book "Democratic Civilisation" by Leslie Lipson, an American professor, that fell into his hands "by chance". This book, praising the virtues of the "democratic" system of imperialism from the first to the last page, has now become the signpost of the PKK!

HOW ÖCALAN ASSESSES THE PKK'S PAST:

At the point he reached today, Öcalan also makes some clear-cut statements in connection with errors of the PKK in the past, leaving no room for any mis/interpretations.

At first, he ascertains that originally the PKK was an organisation "with utopian and extreme political perspectives", forced to "lay the weight on secession in its program and propaganda". Since the beginning of the nineties, it emerged that this approach must be overcome, and with the cease-fire of 1993, he says, emphasis was laid on "democratic unity within the context of the territorial integrity of the country and the independence of the state". And he assesses it "as a big deficiency" that the district attorney dismisses the statements he made during interrogation and before court as "manoeuvers", "tactics" etc.

In relation to the PKK during this period he makes the following self-criticism:

"In these years, the State was actually passing through a serious phase of skin shedding, as was usual in general. Particularly the dissolution of the Soviets and the developments after the Golf War, affecting Turkey directly, made the solution of the Kurdish problem vital, and the way to solve it was via an actually overdue comprehensive democratisation, which is a basic need. ***The PKK put up resistance here. Instead of developing itself, it held on to its extreme views. It saw the only way out herein. Actually, out of the break-***

down of real socialism, it should have crystallised the way of democratic solution. It should have recognised that the principle of the right of nations to self-determination has lost its validity, that the scientific-technical change has dissolved the idea of nation states, a result of the development since the seventeenth century, that a solution of the question by developing the democracy within the existing boundaries, without at all touching the question of state borders, is a lot more realistic. In a nutshell, it should have left the program of the seventies aside and adopted a new program... The PKK finds itself really at an important junction. Either it will stick to its classical line, harden and live on, supporting itself on broad internal and external possibilities, or assess the realities in Turkey and in the world correctly and give up the stage of armed struggle as its fundamental tactic on the basis of legal safeties and transform itself into a body, basing itself in its program on the integrity of Turkey and with a program of general democracy and a still more differentiated program for changing the Kurdish society, grasping political legal action and form of organisation as primary. Precisely this is the historic stage."

In his defence speech, Öcalan marks this **transformation**, about which he says it was necessary since the beginning of the nineties, as a **"transformation from a revolutionary to a democratic organisation"**. To prevent eventual misunderstandings, he emphasises time and again that this is not a "tactical move", and replies to possible criticisms as follows: ***"Let alone seeing this transformation ever as renegadism or liquidationism, it must be perceived as a really revolutionary transformation. The opposite, i.e., not to accomplish this necessary transformation in the line and structure, would lead to extreme conservatism and with time to liquidationism."***

These words speak such a clear language, that a commentary is really unnecessary. Öcalan makes a self-criticism, that the "transformation from a revolutionary to a democratic organisation" was not carried out "after the dissolution of socialism" at the beginning of the nineties! This is a "self-criticism" addressed first and foremost at the ruling classes!

FROM THE STRATEGY SOLD TO THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES AS "TACTICS" TO THE STRATEGY OPENLY NAMED AS SUCH:

- **It Is Not Revolutionary:**

What Öcalan and, together with him, the PKK propound now officially and openly, is expressed in this self-criticism essentially, about which they say "it is not a tactic, but a strategy". It would be absurd to contend that all this still has something to do with revolutionarism. The PKK does not have a policy of overthrowing the State of the Turkish Republic by revolution even on paper any more.

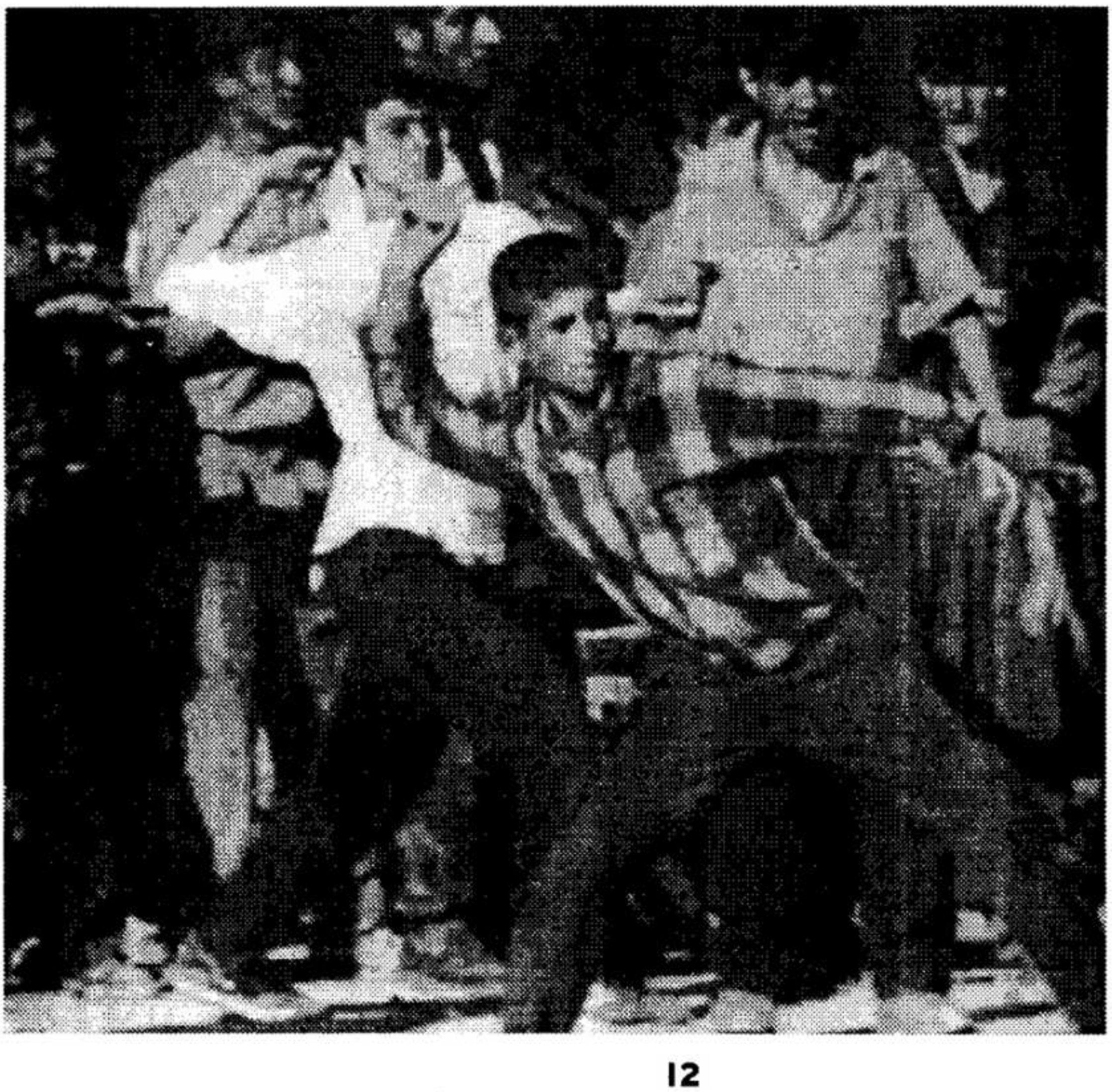
We emphasise this for the following reason. Although the PKK had changed its practical politics since the beginning of the nineties, it had not yet deleted the goal of "independent united democratic Kurdistan" from its program. And when we wrote that the line of the PKK is reformist, the PKK followers marked this as an "affront against the PKK" and tried to prevent the distribution of these articles partly even by brute force precisely on these grounds. In discussions with PKK followers, we were reprimanded for "not having the slightest idea about politics and tactics". In order to keep their basis, even the PKK leaders partly said that their peace appeals, their unilateral cease-fires etc. were only "tactics". Although the PKK had settled down to a clearly reformist line in 1993, and stretched out its hand to the State for peace, since the State declined the peace offer, it was still forced to continue with the war against the State in order to accomplish its strategic goal of reconciliation with the State, and be accepted as a negotiating partner. This constituted the material basis of why many assessed the PKK as revolutionary. To increase its barganing power vis-à-vis the State, to prevent criticisms from revolutionary circles, and also to portray all this to the revolutionary elements in its own ranks as "tactics" and mobilise the revolutionary forces as tail piece of its reformist line, the PKK strove not to break off its links with them completely, and even initiated the establishment of the "United Revolutionary Forces Platform". And now, in Öcalan's defence speech, marked by the PKK as "manifesto of the 21st century", as "peace manifesto" and as the "New Manifesto" of the PKK, it is openly and clearly stated that the PKK must do what it must do, must convene a peace congress, and alter its program. And the PKK agrees with that! The course clearly pursued since 1993 in political practice is now raised to the level of program. That is what's new. This is not an evolution from revolutionism to reformism, but from an openly reformist politics supported in practice by armed struggle to "raising" it to the level of theory and program, to developing it still more, to its crystallisation.

• It is not National Liberationist:

This line has nothing to do with "national liberationism", either. A line which gives up defending the right of nations to self-determination even on paper has no right to talk in the name of national liberation. Yes, the PKK emerged and developed as a bourgeois-nationalist national movement. Its original program anticipated an "independent, united, democratic Kurdistan". It defended the right of the Kurdish nation to secede. The PKK played an important role in the crystallisation of the national consciousness of the Kurdish nation. Although its line was inconsistent, the PKK managed, particularly at the beginning of the nineties, to win a broad mass basis with its line of armed struggle for national liberation. The oppressed Kurdish peasants made up the basis of this organisation to a great extent. And yes, the is PKK one of the most important organisations of the Kurdish nation today as well, and in North Kurdistan it is the most important Kurdish national organisation. But the solution it anticipates for the Kurdish nation is not even in the bourgeois sense of the word a "national liberation". And in this connection, too, there is an evolution in the sense that the line of "a few national rights", essentially "cultural rights", in practice clearly resting on a definitely reformist foundation from 1993 onwards, is now being raised openly to the level of program. This is not a qualitative change.

• It Is Not Anti-Imperialist:

The "anti-imperialism" of PKK's line has today reached the point of preaching to the ruling classes: "when you do not solve the Kurdish question together with us on these backward conditions, then imperialists will interfere in the domestic affairs of Turkey, and use the Kurdish question for their purposes; in the past they have always used them." Öcalan expresses this in his defence speech as follows:



"When we come to talk of external plots, we should mention that the main goal at this turning-point is that they want to make an aboutface, whereby they are convinced that by using the Kurdish question for this purpose they will be successful. At every critical period of history, they have tried to play this game. And when they remained without a solution, they did play this game successfully. Therefore the task consists in solving this question by our own hands, and making it our own strong weapon against those who want to play with it."

In the same defence speech Öcalan substantiates why he was not accepted by the imperialists with his line of not accepting "separatism" as a solution, but defending a line anticipating the integrity of Turkey for the solution of the Kurdish question. For this reason, he says, the imperialists had handed him over to Turkey to stoke internal troubles in Turkey. Although there is a big change here in the wording of the line, there is no change in essence. Even during the period of its genesis, at a time when it used many socialist words and revolutionary phrases profusely, the PKK was not consistent in its anti-imperialism. It assessed the social-imperialist Soviet Union as socialist, regarded it as friend and hoped for help from it. Had the Soviet Union actually supported the PKK, then nothing would have prevented the PKK from proceeding in its wake. But the Soviet Union also had its own trustees among the "Kurdish nationalists", and did not want to put itself up openly against the Turkish Republic. Later as well the PKK was always an organisation open to being taken advantage of in the name of "big politics", "tactics", "utilizing the contradictions among enemies" etc. Setting out from the wrong approach that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend", the PKK frequently regarded and propagated a part of the enemies as friends. Open expression of such a wrong approach was for example the decision of the 3rd Congress of the PKK "to raise the tactical alliance with Iran and Syria to the level of a strategic alliance". After coming to the conclusion that it can not defeat the Turkish Republic by armed struggle, after beginning to see the solution openly in an agreement with the Turkish Republic over some cultural rights within its boundaries, the PKK laid the emphasis on diplomatic efforts and developed a policy aimed at moving the imperialist powers into pressurising the Turkish Republic for a "political solution". (The international situation, the extinction of the false hope bestowed upon the Soviet Union, the weak level of the Labour movement in Turkey and so forth surely also played an important role for the development of the PKK in this direction). The letters to Clinton praising the American democracy, calling upon him to advocate the solution of the Kurdish question; the letters to the pope, meetings and agreements with agents of the German secret service and so forth were open hints that the PKK set its hopes on Western imperialists, and was ready to work together with every one that supports it openly. The PKK's cooperation with Syria, which tried to use the PKK against Turkey as a trump card because of her contradictions with Turkey, was quite open. The imperialists however, who did not want to endanger their interests in their relations with the Turkish Republic, saw it fit to deliver Öcalan, after he had left Syria, therefore found himself no more under the control of Syria but under their own control, to the Turkish Republic. Now Öcalan is a prisoner in the hands of the Turkish Republic. Öcalan, who yesterday, as he was in Rome, praised the Italian democracy, explains now in Turkey, "the army is not an obstacle to democratisation", the "Turkish Republic is shedding its skin", the imperialists want to trap Turkey etc. The PKK, yesterday seeking an alliance with "democratic imperialists" against the Turkish Republic, represents today through the "alliance of PKK with the Turkish Republic" in the person of Öcalan the strengthening of Turkey against the imperialists. The gullibility leading to Öcalan's captivity is that the PKK and Öcalan did not grasp Öcalan's deportation from Syria under war threats of Turkey to Europe in fact as a big victory for the Turkish Republic and a serious setback for the PKK, but regarded it as a step in the direction of "becoming a state". The main problem here is the PKK's inconsistent, meagre anti-imperialist stand since its genesis.

WHAT KIND OF PEACE?

The PKK wants peace with the Turkish Republic! This is not new. Since 1993 till today there are open appeals and statements in this direction. New is the PKK's stance of unilaterally giving up the armed struggle as one of the belligerents. This will undoubtedly slow down the war going on today. When the PKK keeps its words —and it is declaring that it is keeping its words and will continue to do so—, then the hot war between the Turkish republic and the PKK within the present boundaries of the Turkish Republic can slow down and stop completely. Doubtlessly, the Turkish Republic ill also try to prevent the PKK from keeping its armed forces for example in South Kurdistan, and will continue its attacks. In spite of that, however, it is possible that the hot war in Kurdistan comes to a standstill. This would bring relief to the ruling classes of the Turkish Republic. This would also bring a certain ease to North Kurdistan in general. This might bring relief to the popular masses living in the war area since 15 years and standing in the midst of two fighting forces, and a revival in the region in terms of economic development etc. Those who prefer to profit from the traitor law, and submit their weapons directly to the state, can get the chance to be taken directly into the services of the state! And so forth. All this means an "improvement" on the present situation. But is this an "honourable peace" in the real sense of the word? A lasting peace? The term "honourable peace" does not originate from us. Those who constantly use this term should explain us how "honourable" a peace can be that is concluded on the basis of Abdullah Öcalan's captivity in the hands of his main enemy, the Turkish Republic, and singing praises to this main enemy. A peace concluded on the basis of unilaterally stopping the armed struggle, and the armed forces having to leave the main combat zone. We understand by a real and lasting peace among various nations only one thing: A peace, in which each nation and nationality, on the basis of the equality of nations, free use of the right to self-determination, and completely equal rights for all nationalities, freely determine how they want to live. In the era of imperialism this question is in reality closely linked with the question of socialism. The countries furnished by Öcalan as examples for a "democratic solution", are not dependent countries, but imperialist countries where bourgeois democracy was established long before the era of imperialism. To mix up these countries with dependent countries is like mixing up the wheat with the chaff. Switzerland, offered here as a concrete example for the "democratic solution", emerged and developed before the era of imperialism. Yes, in imperialist Switzerland there is no national oppression as in the Turkish Republic. But the "alien's laws" applied against all non-Swiss citizens are no less racist than the alien's laws of other countries. In the imperialist USA, mentioned in praises by Öcalan as an example, the race laws were abolished only in the sixties, and over and above this, racism against Indians, who were massacred in the past, Blacks and Latinos, still exists in practice. The division of society along racial and national lines exists furthermore, and also today leads again and again to outbreaks of violence etc. Therefore, in the capitalist system, in the most developed imperialist countries, even in the most "democratic" among them, a real, comprehensive, lasting solution to the national question and an "honourable", "lasting" peace on this basis is not possible.

Peace with the fascist Turkish Republic, however, would end up with consenting to some crumbs of "cultural rights" uncomparable with those in Switzerland, the USA etc. Yes, the fascist Turkish Republic has entered upon the road of "solving" the question of "Kurdish reality" in the manner propounded by the PKK today, and this process will continue in the period ahead. This is an unavoidable historical development, forced by the development of capitalism also on the ruling classes of the Turkish Republic. To present this as the goal of an "honourable peace" means cheating the masses. To attain real peace, it is necessary to overthrow the fascist state of the Turkish Republic with the democratic revolution, create conditions under which the Kurdish nation can use its right to secede freely, and pave the way for socialism. In a nutshell, **revolution is the only way to attain real peace!**

WHAT KIND OF DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC?

The same also applies in the question of democratic republic. What is the democratic republic the PKK demands today? Concretely a regime after western democracy, which the present Turkish Republic should become by reforming its constitution and laws. The steps already taken in this direction should be continued. In Öcalan's head the ideal model of democracy is Switzerland and the USA. He says so completely openly! These democratic republics are set up on exploitation. In these democratic republics a small section of the society appropriates a big part of the social wealth, while big sections of the society stand before the threat of being unemployed and/or becoming paupers. In relation to the national question: hostility to foreigners is anchored legally. There is racism, nationalism and chauvinism in society. The democracy takes legal measures etc. to pass over, when necessary, to fascism. For those who act in a revolutionary manner against the state, there is no democracy. The reason why the ruling classes do not resort massively and systematically to fascistoid and openly fascist measures today lies therein, that they do not need this today, the class struggle has not reached the extent of posing a threat to bourgeois power. How practice looks like when this threat is there, showed itself in the USA in the fifties during the McCarthy period and during 1968 in the terror practiced against the blacks. Undoubtedly, the living and fighting conditions for the working class and toilers in a bourgeois democracy like in Western Europe and the USA are "less worse" than in a fascist dictatorship like the Turkish Republic. But to regard and propagate this as the real solution, to conceal that real democracy is linked up closely with the goal of abolishing exploitation is a glorification of bourgeois power!

• Conscious Tailism of the Spontaneous, "Normal" Development:

The PKK's "new" democracy program corresponds at best with the class interests of the Kurdish liberal bourgeoisie. This program coincides with the program of the Turkish liberal bourgeoisie of the "second republic". Whereby one must know that this "liberal" bourgeoisie is economically and politically not against imperialism, but its extended arm. The historical evolution spontaneously goes anyhow in this direction. The narrow ideological-bureaucratic shackles of the Kemalist fascist dictatorship are shaken by the bourgeoisie's development. A painful, excruciating transformation is taking place. Now the PKK has raised this transformation openly to its program. An important section of the bourgeoisie in Turkey is in favor of making certain corrections in the fascist structure of the Turkish Republic because of internal as well as external developments, in favor of some "democratic" improvements in the constitution and laws. International imperialist capital and the Turkish high finance interwoven with it demand that some bureaucratic obstacles existing up to now be abolished and a democratisation effected to the extent required by capital, without, however, prejudicing the territorial integrity of the state of the Turkish Republic. The "democratisation" plans and reports of institutions of high finance like TÜSİAD (Association of Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen) go to show that. Likewise, institutions of international capital and imperialist states under the cloak of upholding "human rights", "democracy" demand also some corrections, corresponding in reality to the interests of their own capital. All these are signs that show in which direction the development goes. Making some corrections to the Kemalist-fascist dictatorship to come closer to the pretence of a "bourgeois democracy". In the Kurdish question this development will lead to granting a few more crumbs of cultural rights than up to now. To take advantage of the economic potential of North Kurdistan still more in the services of the Turkish Republic, increased steps will be undertaken to "reconcile the Kurds with the state". No doubt, this development is not running straightforwardly, without collisions. The quarrels among the different wings of the ruling classes continue. A series of leading cadres of the Kemalist-fascist dictatorship opposes this development on the grounds that one must rely primarily on the army and "defend the fundamental principles of Atatürk's republic". Once in a while, they let tanks roll over the streets. But the general line of the development goes in the direction of breaking the political monopoly of the Kemalists, ever stronger domination of the market laws, driving back the influence of the bureaucrats, ever louder expression of democratic demands in the political field and calls for corresponding legal corrections. To append oneself at the tail of this development and present and propagate it as a development in the direction of a "democratic republic", imparts a wrong consciousness to the toilers and serves to hold them furthermore in slavish bondage to the Turkish Republic.

In this connection, too, we Communists say that real democracy under the conditions of bourgeois rule is impossible. The prerequisite for a real democracy for the broad working masses is the rise to power of the producers themselves, workers, peasants and other toilers. Only worker-peasant power, paving the way for abolishing exploitation, deserves the name "democratic republic". The democratic republic can not be attained through bargaining with the Turkish Republic! The democratic republic can not be attained by becoming the tail of the "democratisation" program of the in the political sense of the word liberal bourgeoisie of the Turkish Republic. The only way to accomplish the democratic republic is the democratic revolution of workers and peasants. The revolutionary task is to struggle for this!

SOME ANSWERS OF THE PKK TO CRITICISMS ON ITS LINE

The PKK throws all criticisms on its wrong line into one pot and accuses the critics in the following ways:

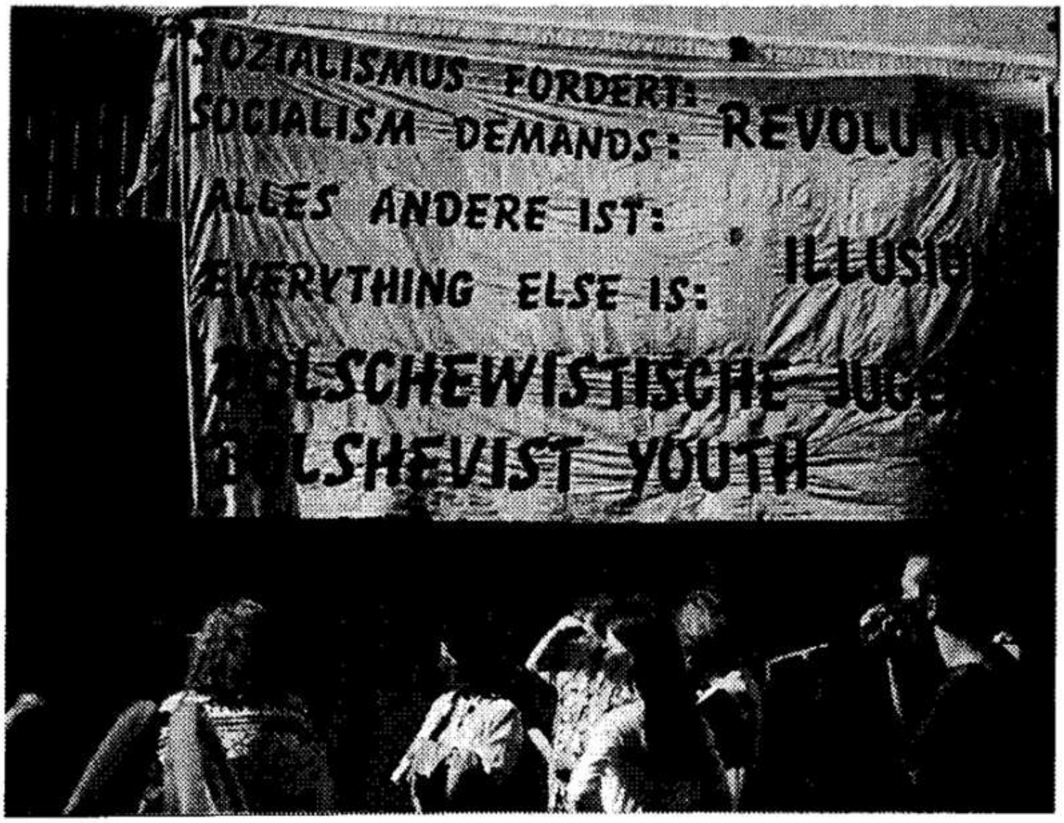
- **"The great peace of the great contenders"?**

One of the accusations is: The PKK waged the war, now it has also the right, like every belligerent force, to conclude peace. "The great contenders have now embarked on the way of great peace." Those who did not participate in this great war, should not interfere from without, but respect the PKK's decision!

Here is what we have to say in this respect: Naturally the PKK itself was one of the belligerents in this war now unilaterally finished by them. And it is the PKK itself to decide whether to continue the war or make peace. But it waged this war in the name of "national liberation", "revolution", "internationalism" and occasionally also in the name of "socialism". And a number of revolutionary forces —justly and properly— supported the PKK in this war in various ways. Every force acting in the name of and struggling for socialism, national liberation and internationalism, has the right and the duty to discuss whether the PKK's policy is right or wrong and disseminate its views on what these steps mean.

In this connection, the problem from our point of view is not that the PKK unilaterally stopped the war at this stage, but under which conditions, with which goal this was done, how this is substantiated, whom and what it serves.

Each and every army can, at a certain point of the war, for example then, when it sees that a continuation will end with the total destruction of its own forces, unilaterally finish the war, and draw back its forces in order to prepare for a new, still stronger battle. The PKK does not say that it is doing so. According to its statements, the PKK is stronger than ever before. It has tens of thousands of guerrilla and thousands of Fedayeen etc.! And the Turkish Republic did not defeat the PKK militarily, and does not have the might to do so! According to PKK phraseology, the reason why the PKK finished the war unilaterally is that it has now seen that "problems cannot be solved by force in the 21st century"! And the PKK "will never ever return to the armed struggle again even if no solution is reached!" In a situation where the ruling classes are armed to the teeth, and suppress even the slightest disturbance against their exploiter system with brutal force of arms, is the act of unilaterally



stopping the war on the grounds that "armed struggle, force cannot solve the problems" not the conclusion of a "great peace" etc., but open capitulation! And when this is done at a time when one is stronger than ever before, then the situation is even graver!

Another "misfortune" for the decision of the PKK is the condition under which it was taken on the basis of the reformist line of the PKK by their idolized Secretary-General Abdullah Öcalan, where he was handed over to the fascist Turkish Republic by the imperialists, where he before the court of the Turkish Republic in his defence speech, marked by the PKK as the "new manifesto", further developed his views to its logical consequences. To present a decision with the character of an answer on the part of the PKK to the categorical demands of the imperialists and the Turkish Republic as a step to "great peace" is a mockery of the masses.

In reality this decision means the liquidation of the guerrilla forces, which until today believed to wage the war of independence, leaving them on their own, disarming them, robbing them of their power, and bringing them in a situation where they must look for a "refuge". In his speech on 2nd September Osman Öcalan said over the forces to be withdrawn from Turkey:

"Different alternatives are being considered with regard to the question where we can draw back ourselves. These are the Near east, Russia, the Caucasus, the Balkans and, most important of all, Europe, which is the vanguard of peace and freedom (!!! Remark of the author). During withdrawal, we expect the biggest support from the European countries. They must invite the armed forces to Europe and develop projects with regard to this question (!!! Remark of the author). We will not concentrate our forces in one area. We want to employ these forces in Europe, Russia and the Near East and adapt them to social and political life. ***These groups, waging war since 15 years, need psychological, social and political education."***

One could hardly express more clearly what the decision to "stop the war and withdraw" means for the guerrilla. With this decision, the guerrilla are degraded to the position of having to look for a refuge, to "be adapted" to society by psychological, social and political education. One can mark this step as "great peace" so often one wants. It is clear what it really represents.

• Are the opponents of PKK's peace line "enemies of peace"?

Another answer to the critics of the PKK's policy is that the critics are "enemies of peace", do not want peace; stand on the side of the war profiteers who have an objective interest in the continuation of the war. This accusation is a big demagogy. In this connection we say clearly: A war waged today only for some crumbs of national cultural rights brings for the revolution as good as no profit. The only use would be to tie up the military forces of the Turkish Republic. But this would only happen at the expense of fanning nationalism on both sides, first and foremost Turkish chauvinism. At the point reached today, the PKK's peace is better than such a war! The question is, whether the PKK had no other choice, whether this is the revolutionary alternative. In a sense, at a point where the PKK saw that North Kurdistan can not be freed with the war waged by the PKK in North Kurdistan mainly with its own forces, that no imperialist power at present favors the establishment of a Kurdistan openly under leadership of the PKK against the Turkish Republic, it embarked upon the way of finishing the war unilaterally and solving the Kurdish question within the Turkish Republic by reconciling itself with her, by hooking up with her. But from its experiences etc., the PKK could draw other consequences as well and come to the conclusion that in the era of imperialism national liberation is inseparably bound with the struggle for socialism; that national liberation in North Kurdistan is impossible without overthrowing the Turkish Republic and without opposing the imperialist system as a whole; that only with the joint revolution of the toilers of Kurdish, Turkish and all other nationalities living in North Kurdistan/Turkey, overthrowing the Turkish Republic and erecting democratic power on this basis, can the conditions be created under which the Kurdish nation can freely make use of its right to self-determination, and follow a corresponding policy. It could dissociate itself from the illusion of short-term "successes", of becoming a state with imperialist help at a time when Öcalan was a prisoner of the imperialists, and redeploy its forces for a mainly peaceful political struggle at present. In this struggle the weapons are not put aside completely, one does not pull out of the country, but warfare is not the main form of struggle during this time. The tasks of the guerrilla shift. The guerrilla could, for example, assume the role of educating and organizing the village population, as is the case with the guerrilla of the New People's Army in the Philippines today. On the basis of adopting a really revolutionary line, it would have not been wrong for the PKK to give precedence to methods of peaceful political struggle in the concrete situation today, putting the emphasis on propagating and organizing the joint, united revolution in North Kurdistan and Turkey. A peace line in this sense would not be wrong at all. Such a peace line, really serving the interests of the revolution, would be a real step forward for the real fraternitization of the peoples and for accomplishing peace. The present "peace line" is not so. The step taken is not a revolutionary transformation, but an open and clear severing of all links with the revolution. To reconcile itself with the Turkish Republic, to show imperialism that it is not dangerous, the PKK made maximum concessions and represents a peace in which the PKK liquidates its weak links with the revolution entirely. It is a revolutionary task and not a hostile outlook to peace when one exposes that such a peace is in reality none.

• What do we criticize and why?

At this point we might hear the following objection: "You say on the one hand, that PKK's line rests since 1993 ever more firmly on a reformist basis, but on the other hand you expect a revolutionary transformation from it. This is wrong, an organisation whose line rests firmly on a reformist basis can not accomplish a revolutionary transformation etc." Here is what we think in this relation: Yes, the PKK reached today in practice the consistent result of its long existing reformist line. In this sense there is nothing astonishing in the PKK's development. But on the other hand, the PKK has, despite the reformist politics it pursued in practice, the goal of fighting for an "independent, united democratic Kurdistan "against the Turkish Republic was not purged from its program. While remaining in touch with imperialist, reactionary fascist powers and, yes, even with the Turkish Republic and seeking ways for a solution within the system on the one hand, the PKK on the other hand did not break off its relations with revolutionary groups in the face of the system's search for a solution without the PKK. Undoubtedly, there were also revolutionary elements in the PKK. The goal of the majority of the guerrilla in the mountains and mainly rural masses supporting the PKK was an independent Kurdistan. Abdullah Öcalan's explanations which show that the leadership concretised in his person did not represent an independent Kurdistan as the goal anymore, were sold to the masses as "tactics". It was so, that the PKK was on the one hand and mainly after a reformist solution here, but on the other hand still talked about the revolution and set off for a unity of the revolutionary forces on a revolutionary platform with the goal of overthrowing the fascist Turkish Republic. As we already explained at the time we joined this platform, this stand did not change nothing the fact that the line of the PKK was reformist. (In contrast to us, all other forces in this platform propounded then that the PKK was revolutionary!)

But this showed that the PKK did not completely put aside the option of a revolutionary solution, be that as it may only for the purpose of bargaining with the ruling classes and preempting the criticisms of the revolutionary forces on its policy. In this situation it was the task of the revolutionaries to press the PKK into acting in accordance with the revolutionary platform it signed. In all our relations with the PKK, in all our criticisms on it, we always tried to bring it to more correct and revolutionary positions.

• What the last year could have taught:

Actually, the process of developments experienced in the last year did indeed offer extensive material for both the PKK and the revolutionary movement in the whole world and in North Kurdistan/Turkey to see some truths still more clearly.

What was this process and what did it show?

First of all, the entire imperialist world had come to accept, *also* because of the armed struggle waged for many years by the PKK, that within the boundaries of the Turkish

Republic exists a Kurdish national question, demanding a solution. The PKK was regarded as an important political and military force which must be taken into account in this solution. The Kurdish question was put on the agenda of the imperialists. Between the PKK and imperialist powers there were contacts prospecting the ground and exchanging messages etc. The PKK interpreted this development as "great successes in the diplomatic sphere" area, seeing itself even in the position of "conducting negotiations from state to state". At the surface, it could appear as if the Turkish Republic was pressed into the corner by these "diplomatic attacks". The PKK did not see and grasp the danger of this self-deception.

Imperialist states brought home to the PKK that it must take steps for a solution and it was necessary to finish the war.

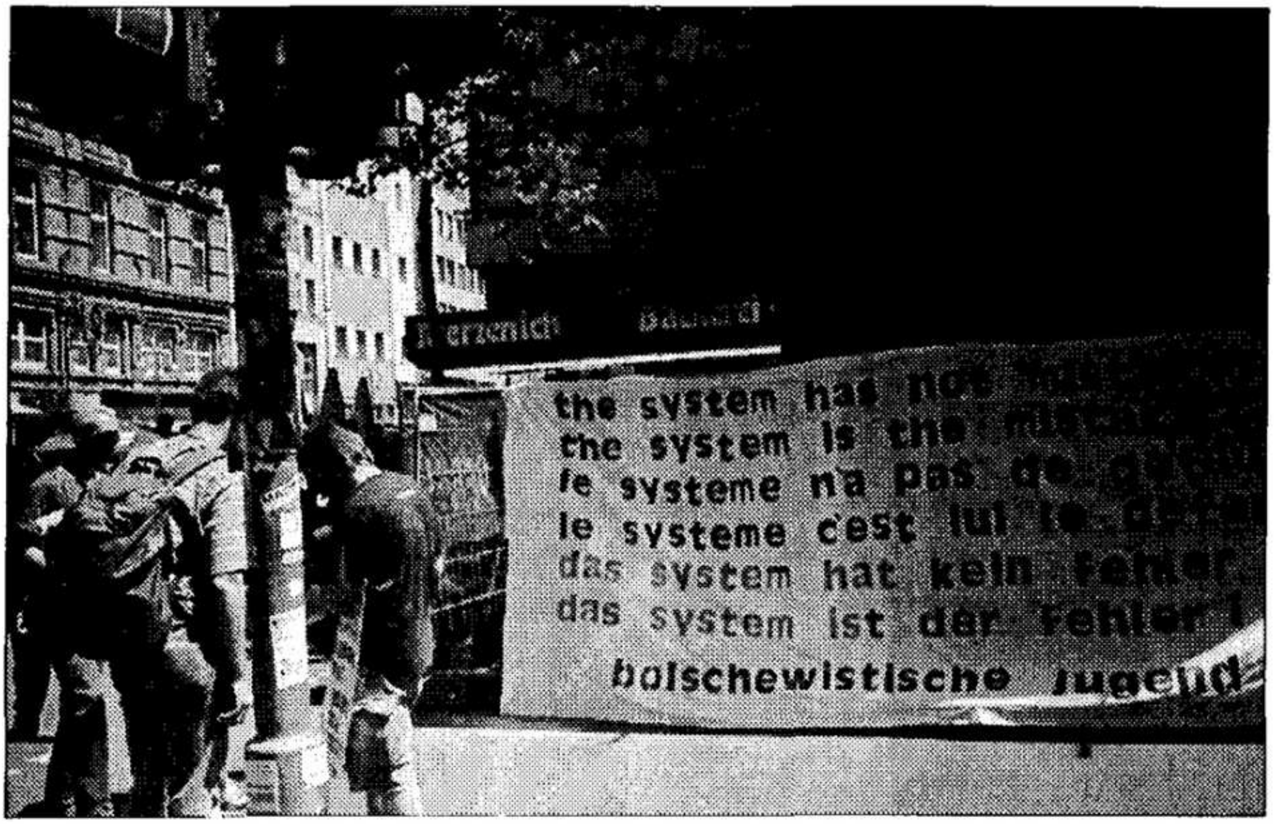
On August 28, 1998, the PKK Secretary-General Abdullah Öcalan explained at a teleconference broadcast in Med-TV before the whole world that they were declaring an unlimited cease-fire, valid from the 1st September 1998 onwards. He said:

"Since long the European Parliament and the European Council have been expecting from us, that we take steps favorable to creating conditions for a political solution. Beside that we also had information indicating that also sensible circles in Turkey were of the opinion that, in case of such steps on the part of the PKK, this could lead to positive results. That encouraged us."

For a guerrilla movement, whose superiority lies in determining the moment of attack itself, a unilateral cease-fire is, from a military point of view, an impossible thing! The guerrilla is then guerrilla no more. The Secretary-General of the PKK said that he had done so in accordance with the wishes of some imperialist and reactionary powers. Furthermore Öcalan expressed in his statement with regard to the circles pressing them to take steps towards peace: *"In so far, I hope that the circles wanting this are consistent, and not out for a cheap trick. I hope we will not be cheated."*

In this connection, there is surely one thing to say: The developments have shown completely clearly that the Secretary-General of the PKK and with him the PKK have been cheated. Practice has proven clearly that the real goal of the circles demanding from the PKK to take steps towards peace was to liquidate the still existing revolutionary aspects of the PKK completely, make it completely harmless to the existing system by taming it, by drawing it into the system.

It is also clear what the Turkish Republic did in the meantime: On the one hand, as one can see from the documents published by the PKK in its organs, it sent messages to the PKK on a lower level to lead it astray, and to learn simultaneously what plans the PKK has in order to try to steer them in the direction it desired. On the other hand the reply of the Turkish Republic to unilateral cease-fire was as always: Escalation of the war! "The Turkish Republic" would "not bargain with the terrorists!" The guerrilla, deprived of the superiority to determine the moment of attack itself, and now finding itself in the position of awaiting the attacks of the forces of the Turkish Republic, suffered heavy losses during this time. The military initiative lay in the hands of the Turkish Republic. Not content with escalating the war, the Turkish Republic at the same time started an intensive campaign against Syria. On the one hand Syria was pressed into the corner with diplomatic attacks, on the



other hand, through open war threats, Syria was deprived of the possibility of harboring Abdullah Öcalan furthermore. Öcalan was forced to leave Syria on October 9 through the pressure of Turkey, supported by the USA and Israel! After a month-long adventurous journey with stopovers in Greece and Russia he came to Rome on 12 November 1998. At the latest at this point the PKK and its Secretary-General Abdullah Öcalan had sufficient facts at their disposal, proving that they can trust none of the imperialist and reactionary powers, that the imperialists held Öcalan in their hand as hostage, and would sell him if they saw no chance to use him in their own interests. The Turkish Republic had gained a victory, as it had Syria banish the Secretary-General of the PKK from that country. It was a clear fact that the PKK with its reformist political line was not even in a position to protect its Secretary-General. None the less, Öcalan as well as the PKK regarded and presented this defeat as a victory. This obligatory exile was named as "departing for Europe". This step was presented as if it was anyhow planned by the PKK consciously, and freely determined by the PKK, including its time. Yes, it was even presented as a step towards "becoming a state". Even this approach alone was sufficient to see that the PKK understood "becoming a state" only as an act in the wake of the imperialists. Actually, at this point in time, it was an unpostponable task of the revolutionary forces whom we consider to exist within the PKK to break with this line of the PKK. But against Öcalan and his stand: "I have come to Europe to play my role through the political channels" and "Alike what the PKK does, I will do so", there was no discord within the PKK. On the contrary, he became still more of an object of worship as "our sun". Instead of opposing Öcalan's line, a campaign of excessive adoration of Öcalan was pushed to its extreme limits. It was naturally right to conduct a political campaign for free political activity of Öcalan in Europe and against his extradition to Turkey. Wrong was the line with which this campaign was conducted. Italy, for example, was presented to the masses as friend. This line let the masses exclaim "Viva Italia" to imperialist Italy.

On 15 February, imperialist and reactionary powers, which the PKK trusted, helped the Turkish Republic capture Öcalan and carry him off to Turkey.

Now Öcalan was a prisoner in the hands of the Turkish Republic. This furnished enough proof for anyone who wanted to see, that the reformist line pursued up to now by the PKK is wrong, and the solution must lie in a "new beginning", in developing a revolutionary line. Without neglecting a moment the struggle for the release of Öcalan, the necessity of creating a new model of organisation imposed itself onto the PKK directly. The leadership itself, that is to say Öcalan, was a captive in the hands of the enemy. Now the PKK could not be led by Öcalan anymore. Actually, the developments were forcing the PKK to rearrange its organisation on revolutionary norms. But at this point as well, this road was not pursued. After February 15, the PKK, whose direct links to Öcalan were severed by the ruling classes, explained: "None of the statements purportedly stemming from the leadership, is binding, as long as it is not submitted directly by him." Whereby it forgot that a direct link is possible only so long as and to the extent which the Turkish Republic allows it. And it was emphasised still more, that the PKK is to be equated with Öcalan.

The arrest of the Secretary-General of the PKK was used to whip up Turkish chauvinism to the utmost. Pages after pages of alleged statements from Öcalan were published in the media, allegedly explaining the wrongness of PKK's struggle and the greatness of the Turkish Republic etc. It was correct not to take a stand on the statements of Öcalan between the 15th February and the 31st May (the first day on which Öcalan appeared before the court). Because all information over what he said was spread by the bourgeoisie. It was not possible to say what part of it was psychological warfare and disinformation, and what part of it really belonged to Abdullah Öcalan.

On May 31, the Secretary-General of the PKK, for the first time in a manner observable by the whole world and in a glass cage allegedly to protect him from an assassination before the court, began his words by explaining that the Turkish Rebuplic "did not torture him in a crude manner". And in further hearings he repeated very much of what had been cited as his statement beforehand in the bourgeois media. And followed a political line, declaring the "conciliation of the Kurds with the Turkish Republic" as his most important task.

The conduct of the Secretary-General of the PKK before court showed clearly:

- Öcalan has given during his interrogation the investigators of the ruling classes information about the PKK, its organizational structure, the names of PKK members, their psychological characteristics, their status in the PKK etc. etc. That this information was known anyhow, does not change anything in the fact that he revealed information to the ruling classes. Öcalan's conduct during questioning is an unworthy conduct even for a rank-and-file revolutionary, let alone for a leader. By not criticizing these statements even with one word, on the contrary, upholding them, the PKK displayed a fully unacceptable stand for revolutionaries. Here some people might object again that "this is a logical continuation of the reformist line, it is wrong to expect another stand from Öcalan and the PKK". Here is what we have to say to them: It is not the conduct of Communists and revolutionaries alone to give no information about the persons with whom they work together, and the organisation, when they get into the hands of the enemy. Many persons with a reformist line adopt this stand during questioning. Many a lower cadre of the PKK behaved differently from Öcalan. Therefore, in this connection everyone has the right to expect from Öcalan to submit solely a political statement, and to say nothing about the organisation —all the more so for an idolized person like him. Instead of doing this, Öcalan opted for answering the questions of the bourgeoisie over the organisation owing to the necessity of "living for the peace". To the state forces who, in his own words, "treated him quite respectfully", neither did he fail to behave "respectfully"! The revolutionary elements in the PKK whom we still believe to exist, should have dissociated themselves from and condemned this conduct openly! They have not done so.

The Imrali period has shown clearly, that a PKK under the leadership of Öcalan is ready to become an organisation which strengthens the Turkish Republic if it only takes a step towards the PKK. This period has shown, where a reformist, inconsistent antiimperialist line leads to. For the PKK, particularly for the revolutionary elements in the PKK, from which we assume there is still which, this period has shown that it is an unavoidable, unpostponable task to separate themselves from the PKK if they still want to remain revolutionaries. This period harmed not only Öcalan and the PKK, but also the revolution and, yes, socialism in the eyes of the broad popular masses. Because, in the eyes of broad popular masses as well as — with a few exceptions — within the revolutionary movement, the PKK counted as revolutionary. The bourgeoisie marked the PKK consciously as "the last Stalinist organisation" etc. In this connection, Öcalan's conduct during questioning and before the court gave a trump card to the bourgeoisie in lowering the esteem of socialism and revolution in the eyes of the broad masses. For this reason it is the duty of every revolutionary and socialist, and every revolutionary organisation to show that this conduct of Öcalan has nothing to do with revolution and socialism. Fulfilling this duty does not mean, however, that one should not solidarize with him anymore. Abdullah Öcalan is a political prisoner captured in an act of piracy trampling under foot all international legal norms by the fascist Turkish Republic with the help of imperialists. No bourgeois court has the right to pass a sentence on him and no bourgeois state has the right to arrest him. The cause for which he was arrested as its leader, is the cause of the resistance of a nation against national oppression, i.e., it is a just cause. For all these reasons it is right to solidarize with the fight for his liberation from the hands of the fascist Turkish Republic, it is right to demand: FREEDOM FOR ABDULLAH ÖCALAN, and to fight for it. This duty does not contradict the necessity of criticizing his wrong, harmful stand.

• Once more: Do the PKK critics not want the "Democratic Republic"?

Another accusation levelled against the critics accused of "not comprehending the historical era we live in" is that the critics of the present line of the PKK do not want the "democratic republic". Above we have already said it once, we repeat once more: We Communists are for the democratic republic. But we are of the opinion that this can not be achieved by gradually reforming the Kemalist-fascist Turkish Republic founded in 1923, that real democracy, i.e., broadest democracy for the workers, peasants, all toilers, and all the oppressed, can be realized only as a result of overthrowing the fascist Turkish Republic by the revolution, making the revolution permanent and progressing on the way to overthrowing the system of exploitation. We are in favor of fighting even for the smallest democratic right. We are in favor of waging a struggle against the revocation of achieved rights. We are not against a struggle for reforms in the system. We are in favor of it **too**. We do not underestimate all this! But we regard it also as our task to demonstrate the emptiness of the dream of reaching a democratic system by maintaining the exploiter system. Revolutionaries tackle the struggle for reforms in subordination to the struggle for revolution. When they struggle for reforms, they do not forget for a moment to propagate that real liberation will be reached through the revolution. The project of a democratic republic expounded by the PKK is the bourgeois-parliamentary democratic system of imperialist countries like Switzerland, the USA, Germany. This is undoubtedly better than the present Kemalist fascism. But it is wrong to present this as the goal for which the masses must struggle primarily, as real democracy.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

The Kurdish national movement under PKK'S leadership and the PKK, which played an important role up to now for the revolution in North Kurdistan-Turkey, find themselves today in the process of transformation. The PKK is severing its still existing weak ties with the revolution in North Kurdistan-Turkey in accordance with the line set by Öcalan. This

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shows itself in practice clearly in giving up the armed struggle, "to which the PKK will never return again" (Osman Öcalan in Medya TV on September 2, 1999), and in its theoretical substantiation. This is, in contrast to the opinion of many opportunists, not a transformation from a revolutionary to a reformist line, but consistent continuation of the reformist line. The weak ties with the revolution existing up to now despite the reformist line are being severed altogether. This transformation does not mean, however, that now peace is concluded with the state immediately at all levels, the PKK has become one with the state, and is a counter-revolutionary organisation now. This is not a merit of the PKK, though. For the state accepts at present only the ex-PKK followers who openly show remorse and are ready to cooperate with the state. In so far, therefore, it is the Turkish Republic itself that prevents the PKK from reconciling itself altogether with the state and becoming a part of it. If the PKK progresses on this line, however, this bears the serious danger of the PKK siding altogether with the state. This is a negative development for the revolutionary movement in North Kurdistan/Turkey. But in the long-term, this development bears also objective conditions for a positive development:

- Since the PKK unilaterally finished the war waged by it with a reformist line, the fascist Turkish Republic alone bears the exclusive responsibility for the war in the eyes of the public opinion in the Turkish Republic as well as in the international arena. The fascist Turkish Republic will be forced to continue the war in North Kurdistan less hard. This will lead to it, that a series of facts concealed by the war will come out more clearly.

stêrka
bolşewik
DEMOKRASİ
KAZANILACAKTIR!
KURTULUŞ DEVRİMDE!
BARIŞ, ÖZGÜR
DEVRİMLE
UMUT İSYANDA
BOLŞEV
FÜR ÖCALAN
BOLŞEWİK

- The objective conditions for the further development of chauvinism stoked on the basis of the war, and oppressed nation nationalism as reaction to it, will become fewer. The class question will step more into the foreground.
- The discussion over some democratic corrections, which were always put off on the grounds of war, will be accelerated. The present development has led to dejection in revolutionary circles. But in the long term this development will also create positive conditions for revolutionary work, for raising the struggle of workers and toilers.

Moreover, the developments have shown that:

- The national liberation is linked up in our era inseparably with the struggle for socialism.

Stalin's statement from 1921: *"It hardly needs any proof, that the equality of nations can not be guaranteed, as long as capital rules, as long as private property exists over the means of production and as long as there are classes; that there can be just as little an equality of nations as cooperation between the working masses of the nations, as long as the might of capital persists, as long as there is a struggle for the ownership of the means of production. History shows that the only means of abolishing national inequality, the only means of establishing a regime of brotherly cooperation of the working masses of the oppressed as well as unoppressed peoples is the liquidation of capitalism and the establishment of the Soviet Union." (The Tenth Party Congress of the CPR (B), Stalin, Vol. 6, p. 32)* has been once more confirmed in the concrete situation of North Kurdistan/Turkey.

It has transpired that a national liberation movement not led by the Communists has no chance of peace without open support of one or the other imperialist power. And real national liberation is impossible in the wake of this or that imperialist power. Accordingly, for North Kurdistan the necessity exists of the followers of real national liberation participating in building the Bolshevik Party (North Kurdistan) and uniting under its leadership.

- Imperialists and reactionary-fascist regimes support national liberation movements only then when it suits their own interests. Thereby they pursue the goal of taking advantage of these movements. A fight relying on this support will at best lead to the success, that a new dependent national state emerges. That however is no real national liberation. This means concretely for North Kurdistan: The only trustworthy forces are workers, peasants and toilers themselves. The real friends of the Kurdish workers and toilers are the workers and toilers of all nationalities from Turkey and the workers and toilers of the whole world. Kurdish workers and toilers can really trust only them. Even if it does not stand at best today in this question, this is so, and should not lead to entering into false alliances.
- The national liberation in North Kurdistan is under the present conditions dependent on the overthrow of the Turkish Republic through the joint revolution of the toilers of Kurdish, Turkish and all other nationalities. Only under the revolutionary, democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants can the conditions be created in Kurdistan for the Kurdish nation to make use of its right to secession freely. Only under this condition can one talk of a voluntary union in a democratic republic. To create a voluntary union, the forced union must be smashed beforehand, and the nations must be equal. These conditions can

be created only after the overthrow of the Turkish Republic. Under the condition of overthrowing the Turkish Republic through the democratic revolution, a referendum in which all political forces can represent their solution suggestions freely is the prerequisite of talking of a free union.

- The following has shown itself clearly: It is completely wrong for a revolutionary organisation to place a person over the organisation, and elevate him quasi to a God. Admittedly, it is easier today to gather the masses around a leader, each of whose words is regarded as a prophecy, than in an organisation in which there is no leader who knows everything, has a solution at hand for everything, and in which each individual must think for himself. To win as many forces as possible in the short term, it is simpler to organize a sect with a prophet at the top who has an answer for each and every question, and a following which is ready to die for him, than a Communist organisation in which each individual party member is called upon to embody the party, and in which responsibility, direct participation in politics, and initiative is called for from each individual, and which acknowledges no infallible authorities. Through a sect organisation one can organize perhaps more persons in the short term, but that would not be an organisation which renders leadership to the struggle for a new society.

- Furthermore it is simpler, if it is a matter of winning the masses in the short term, to appeal to national feelings, to make the national oppression and the struggle against it to one and all, instead of putting the class contradictions in the foreground and organizing on this basis. An organisation which makes the national contradiction to one and all, is far from socialism.

- To win the masses, it is admittedly more productive not to present the masses the facts unvarnished, but to turn a defeat into a victory, and paint the picture of an organisation which constantly becomes stronger, never suffers a defeat and makes no errors (or when some errors are made, then not by the leadership). But it is not possible to present and practise such a stand in the name of revolutionism and socialism.

SIN BOLSEVIK
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- To get stronger in the short term and become a mass organisation, it is more promising not to overcome oppositional ideas in or outside the organisation within the framework of the rules of democratic centralism valid for all by ideological struggle, as it would be right, but to choose the way of stamping members of the opposition as enemies or even agents without any proof, and destroying them physically. Furthermore, it is more productive to take the road of resorting to force to silence the oppositional voices and criticisms from outside than to learn from and teach them in the course of ideological struggle. From the viewpoint of the "discussion culture" in the society of North Kurdistan/Turkey moulded by the worship of force and might, this is more productive. But productivity and short-term successes are hardly any criterion of truth. From the viewpoint of struggle for a society without exploitation, for a new world, for a new society, the practice of bringing members of the opposition through force to silence is an unacceptable practice.

• • •

The explanation for the successes of the PKK in winning the masses lies in these points and in its insistence upon the armed struggle against the state given up by them now. From among all the points making up the present strength of the PKK, it is giving up the only correct one, the armed struggle against the state. (This does not mean the armed struggle as a form of action can not shift to second place at one time or the other.)

The positive and negative sides of the particularities which made the PKK to what it is, must be assessed, and lessons must be drawn from them for the revolution. Thereby one must be conscious that revolution is not a short-term affair, and that expectations of short-term successes lead constantly to deviations.

We Communists furnish to the question "What is to be done?" the answer: Fight still more consistently and more energetically to put our consistent line into practice! The developments have documented clearly the correctness of our warnings and criticisms on the line of the PKK.

In general, our answer to revolutionaries who ask "what is to be done?" is also clear:

Throw away your inconsistencies and your day-to-day pragmatic opportunist politics! The solution lies in Marxism-Leninism. Strive to grasp and act in accordance with it!

In particular, our call to revolutionaries within the ranks of the PKK, whom we still believe to exist, is: Break away from Öcalan and the PKK, find your way back to the origins of the PKK, clean these origins from errors and take steps for a revolutionary organisation.

• A Particular Question: What Will Become of the United Revolutionary Forces Platform?

There is the question of what will become now of the United Revolutionary Forces Platform. As is known, we and the PKK are also in this platform, which has a revolutionary character. The main line practiced by the PKK already at the time of the establishment of the platform and as we joined the platform was not revolutionary, but reformist. We openly stated this in our statement. Already in our application for membership, we stated in an additional statement over the line of the PKK:

"We do not have a general assessment about all the groups signing this declaration that they are revolutionary. For example, we are of the opinion that the present political line of the PKK is based on a reformist foundation." (See Bolshevik Partisan # 121/1998, p. 11)

But although the line practiced by the PKK was reformist in the main, it still considered it right to join a revolutionary platform with revolutionaries, and signed a revolutionary document. In practice, some things were done in the name of the platform, contradicting with the platform itself. At the point reached today, the Imrali-line is accepted and practiced by the PKK clearly in contradiction to the revolutionary views and revolutionary unity in action line of the platform. This must be clearly addressed in the name of the platform. Members of the platform must, if they still want to uphold this platform, openly declare that the new manifesto of the PKK contradicts the spirit and the words of this platform. In practice, this means that the PKK and those who uphold its present line, leave the platform/are excluded from the platform.

When the organisation with the biggest mass influence leaves the platform/is excluded from the platform, the numerical strength in actions will sink a lot. Nevertheless, this is an absolutely necessary step. The masses should not be deceived.

We have participated in this platform and signed it, because we found it right, and we are in favor of it remaining in existence with all forces which stand furthermore on its basis. But there should not be any expectations which this platform cannot fulfill. It must be clear that this is a contradictory unity. For us it is a means of unity in action of us Communists with revolutionary opportunist forces.

It should not be forgotten that from the forces which are in the platform, and today finally see that the line of the PKK is reformist, the MLKP, the TKP (ML) and Dev-Sol till yesterday assessed it as a revolutionary line.

One must keep in mind that the TKP (ML) marked the Kardelen operation as a victory of the Marxist-Leninist forces and employed during that operation methods which made it impossible to recognise who was a flic and who not, whereby for us the entire incident is in the dark. Some of those involved in the Kardelen operation sided, after their subsequent arrest, with the repentants, insulted the revolutionary movement, and called upon the fighters in the mountains to give up.

It should not be forgotten that the MLKP resorted to social-fascist force against a group which split from them; and Dev-Sol, as we demonstrated the wrong stand of Dursun Karataş during the 12th September period under interrogation, resorted to violence against us etc.

The United Revolutionary Forces Platform should be further held alive without forgetting all this. It should live and be strengthened. The way to do this is not to conceal the existing contradictions.

September 3, 1999

Bolshevik Party (North Kurdistan/Turkey)
Central Committee

Statement by the BOLSHEVIK PARTY/NORTH KURDISTAN

NO PLOTS CAN FORESTALL THE JUST STRUGGLE AND LIBERATION OF THE KURDISH NATION!

THE ALTERNATIVE TO BARBARIC, IMPERIALIST TURKISH CHAUVINISM AND FASCISM IS NOT KURDISH NATIONALISM AND REVANCHISM!

FREEDOM WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED BY WAY OF UNITED REVOLUTION OF THE PEOPLES!

We are passing through historic days. The fascist State of Turkish Republic has taken Abdullah Öcalan, Chairman of the PKK, who played a decisive role in the national struggle of the Kurdish nation, prisoner on February 16. All imperialist and reactionary powers have colluded to a certain extent in this plot to take the PKK Chairman prisoner. USA and Israel acted as the main supporters of the Turkish Republic. None of the oh so much "democratic" imperialist powers of Western Europe, repeating every now and then how sensitive they are about the "national rights of the Kurdish nation", granted the PKK Chairman the right to political asylum. Neither did Russia give him shelter, inspite of a Duma resolution! As for states like Syria and Greece that are under threat of direct assault by the Turkish Republic, they also bowed to the bludgeon of imperialist masters and played an infamous and ignominious role in turning Abdullah Öcalan over to Turkey. Wrong assessments and line of the PKK also facilitated the international plot to hand over Abdullah Öcalan to Turkey. Popular masses who knew some reactionary and imperialist states as their "friends" have learnt through a very severe blow that these are not, nor can they be, friends. Now is the time to learn, to do the right thing! Since February 16, all revolutionary, progressive forces are living through a new period.

As communists from North Kurdistan we want to lay down our stand on this new pe-riod briefly:

1. The kidnapping of PKK Chairman Abdullah Öcalan from Kenya in close cooperation between Mossad, CIA and MIT (National Intelligence

Organization, the Turkish CIA –Translator's note) is an act of imperialist piracy against all norms of international law. This act of piracy is part and parcel of an international plot to leave the PKK without its leader, and totally suppress the national liberation struggle in North Kurdistan.

2. The taking prisoner of Abdullah Öcalan by the fascist Turkish Republic is an attack not only on him and the PKK, but on all progressive mankind. Inspite of its wrong, nationalist, reformist line the PKK is in the eyes of imperialist powers, as well as toiling masses guided by their media, the defender of "socialism". It is "the last Stalinist organization" to be disbanded! In that case, this is also an attack on the real defenders of socialism.

3. The war waged by the PKK, inspite of its wrong, nationalist, reformist line, was and is a just war inasmuch as it opposes national oppression and defends national rights of the Kurdish nation! We communists from North Kurdistan have always defended the right of the Kurdish nation to set up its own state, and declared our support for this just aspect of PKK's struggle. Unlike PKK with its nationalist-reformist line, however, we propagate that the conditions in which the Kurdish nation can freely use its right to set up its own state can only be established after the overthrow of the fascist Turkish Republic as a result of the joint, united democratic revolution of workers and peasants, toilers of Kurdish, Turkish, Arab, Circassian, Armenian and all other nationalities, and work towards preparing such a revolution as

much as we can. The fact that we have a line different from the PKK does not constitute a hurdle that prevents us from defending –on the basis of our line– the PKK and its leader against the attacks of the fascist state. We grasp the attacks on him as attacks against us, and demand his unconditional release at once!

4. The demands for a "fair trial", "trial before an international court" etc. for A. Öcalan are not our demands. We know that no imperialist or reactionary court under present circumstances will make a "fair" trial in the case of A. Öcalan, and we herewith declare: No imperialist or reactionary court has the right to try Abdullah Öcalan! As for those who kidnapped and took A. Öcalan prisoner, the day will certainly come when they will be brought to account before courts set up by the peoples of the world!

5. The State of Turkish Republic is drawing up plans to execute A. Öcalan under a legal pretence after a show trial. We declare that we will under no circumstances recognize any kind of trial by the fascist Turkish Republic, nor its results! The only correct demand concerning A. Öcalan is his unconditional immediate release! Those who planned to take him prisoner and in his person to suppress the Kurdish national movement may rejoice as much as they like, but they will see in practice that their plan will not succeed. Sooner or later Kurdistan too will attain freedom by revolution!

6. The line to be followed in North Kurdistan as well as in other parts of Kurdistan for attaining freedom and for the Kurdish nation being able to freely use its right to secede is the line that bases itself and sets out from uniting Kurdish and toilers of other nationalities against their class enemies from all nationalities. Real freedom for Kurdistan can be attained only as a result of the overthrow of reactionary-fascist Turkish, Iranian, Iraqi and Syrian States by revolutions. Only on the basis of such a proletarian internationalist line can the way be paved for free association of equal and free peoples in the long run.

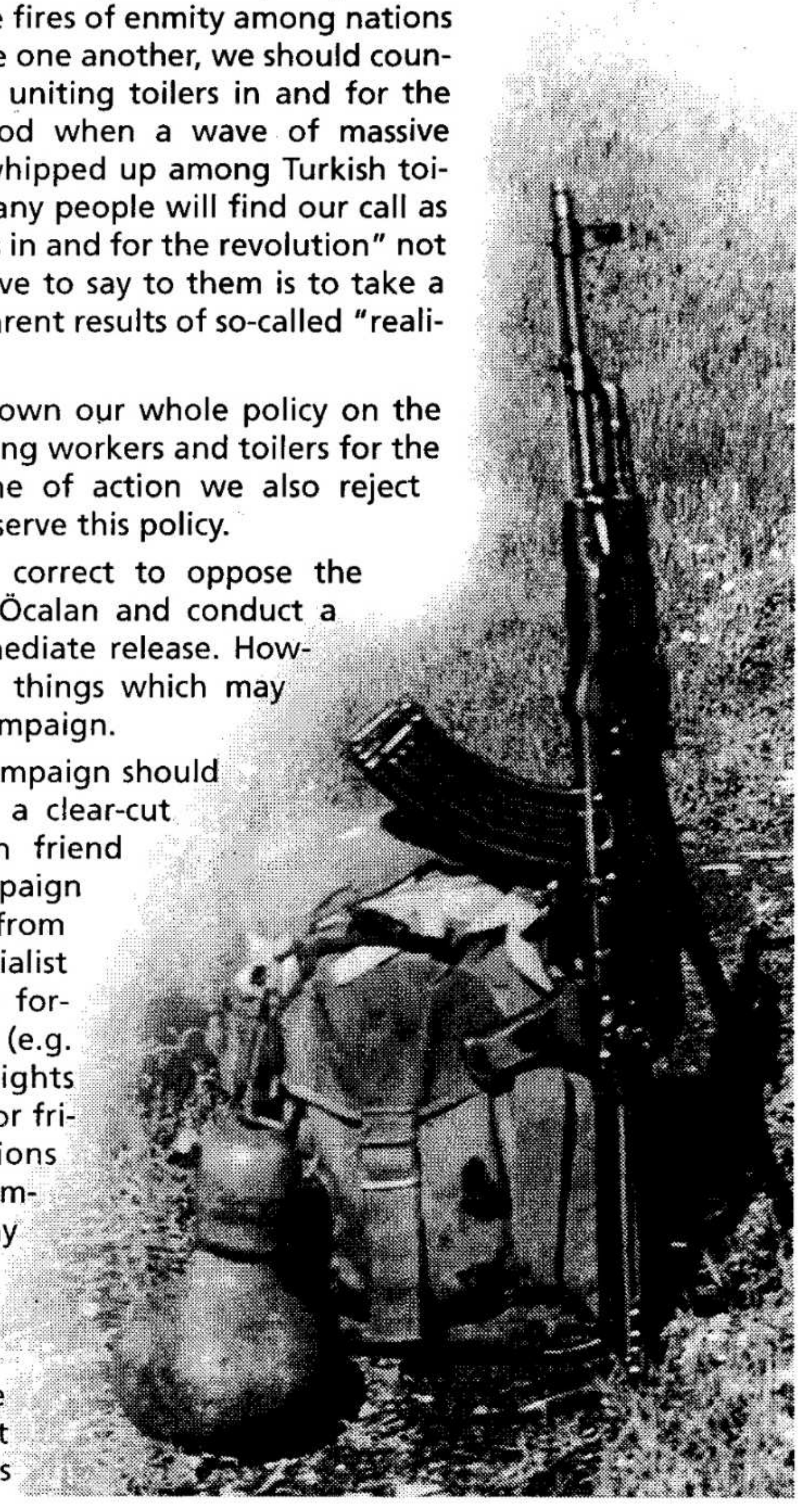
7. We are living through a new process since February 16. In this process, on the one hand, Turkish chauvinism is being whipped up by the Turkish ruling classes through their display of a "great triumph", trying to drown progressive, revolutionary, patriotic oppositional voices by a heavy crack-down, escalating fascism to such dimensions as existed during the gravest periods of 12 September. On the other hand, especially among militant Kurds, conditions are developing for nationalism becoming really widespread. The idea that "Kurds have no other friends but Kurds" is gaining more ground than ever before among Kurdish masses. This is understandable under the present circumstances. There is no doubt that this aspect of oppressed-nation nationalism opposing oppression is just. However, one should know that nationalism, bringing the oppressors and the oppressed, the exploiters and the exploited of a nation together, is not the way to liberation for toilers. The reply on the part of Kurdish toilers to Turkish chauvinism should not, and cannot, be to stick to their own "nationalism". Against the banner of nationalism of the bourgeoisie, we have our own flag of proletarian internationalism! Against the policy of the bourgeoisie to fan the fires of enmity among nations and let them decimate one another, we should counterpose the policy of uniting toilers in and for the revolution. In a period when a wave of massive chauvinism is being whipped up among Turkish toilers, we know that many people will find our call as Kurds to "unite toilers in and for the revolution" not realistic. What we have to say to them is to take a look at the more apparent results of so-called "realistic" policies!

8. Since we bed down our whole policy on the rockbed of uniting workers and toilers for the revolution, in our line of action we also reject actions which do not serve this policy.

It is necessary and correct to oppose the attacks on Abdullah Öcalan and conduct a campaign for his immediate release. However, there are some things which may not be done in this campaign.

First of all, such a campaign should not serve to obscure a clear-cut demarcation between friend and foe. Such a campaign must strictly abstain from presenting any imperialist power or reactionary forces and institutions (e.g. European Human Rights Court) as progressive or friendly. Secondly, actions conducted in such a campaign should in no way serve to incite the peoples against one another.

9. Here is what we think about some concrete events



that have taken place recently:

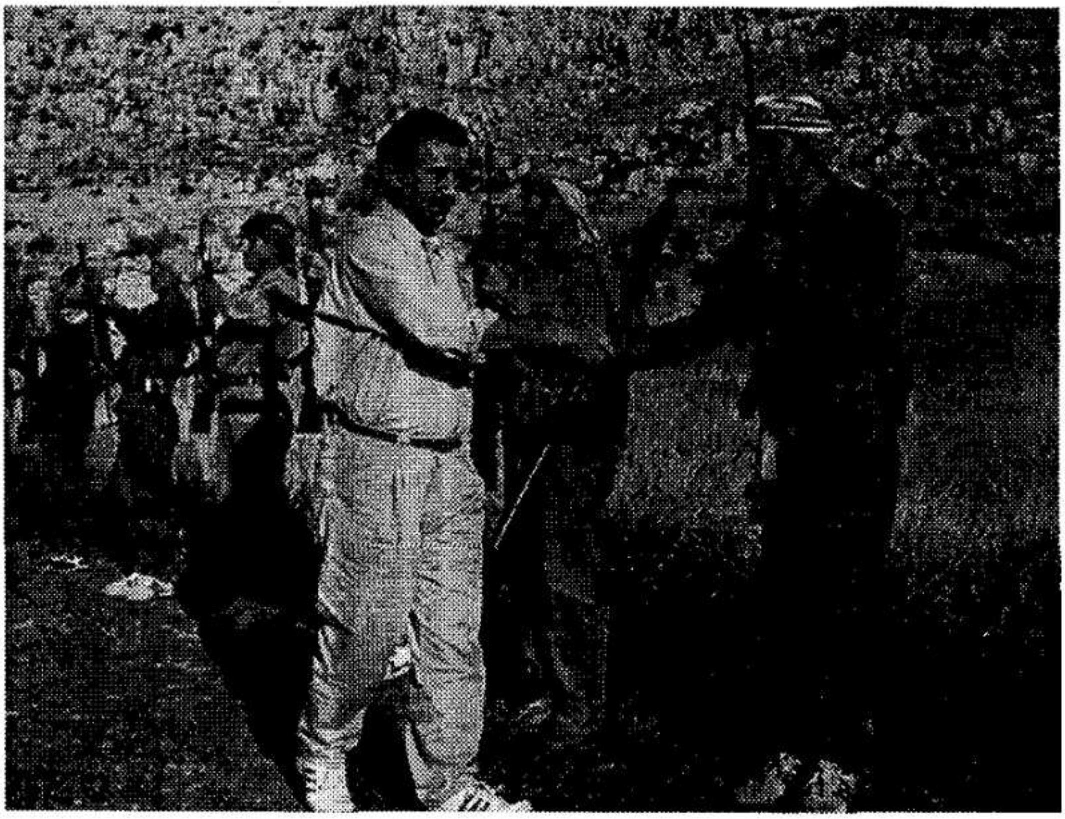
* We are against setting oneself on fire! In one respect, setting oneself on fire is an act demonstrating the readiness of a person to sacrifice his/her life for the cause he/she believes in. On the other hand, however, it is at the same time an expression of hopelessness. It is a misuse of revolutionary energy.

* We think the same about death hunger strikes. "To live and fight a day longer inspite of the enemy" must be our slogan!

* Under present circumstances we are also against suicidal actions. To sacrifice a revolutionary, who is ready to turn his body into a bomb, for actions not causing serious damage to counter-revolution, is, in our eyes, again a misuse of revolutionary energy under present circumstances when we must essentially prepare and organize the masses.

* We are also against indiscriminate military actions, or, rather, military actions in which members of civil population also become targets; and against some of the acts of throwing Molotov-cocktails and bombs recently. Such actions muddle up friend and foe and in the last analysis serve the counter-revolution. The situation is such that, it is getting increasingly difficult to distinguish whether such actions are carried out by the counter-guerrilla organizations of the ruling classes, or really by some "leftist" organizations that claim responsibility for them.

For example, we are against the bombing of a taxi in Bakirköy/Istanbul, against bomb and Molotov-cocktail attacks against shopping centers, cafés and places frequented by masses of people. Such actions in the last analysis do not serve to unite, but divide the popular masses and make them enemies to one another. That an organization called "Hezin Tolhildane Nejarperesten Kurd" claimed responsibility for some of these actions and tried to explain them with the logic of "an eye for an



eye", is an expression –when we take this explanation for serious– of how narrow-minded and shallowly bourgeois nationalism approaches the question.

We communists refuse to act with the ideology of primitive ages, in revanchism, with the logic of "an eye for an eye" etc. Undoubtedly, it is quite understandable that our people, whose villages are set on fire, razed to the ground and bombed every day, who are held in derision in the cities, develop such feelings of revenge. But the duty of a revolutionary is not to satisfy such primitive feelings of revenge with the logic of "an eye for an eye", but to channel the energy rising out of such feelings into the rockbed of long-term revolutionary struggle. Only the stronger win by "an eye for an eye"! "An eye for an eye" leads to an order in which "law of the jungle" rules. This is not our project for the future, nor may it be.

When we reject such actions, we also look on the crocodile tears shed by various representatives of the ruling classes and liberal bourgeosie with contempt and condemn them. Those who have not done anything to stop the war in North Kurdistan, on the contrary, supported it as a "war against terrorism", have no right to say anything about what is happening in the metropolises now! What is happening in the metropolises now is not even one thousandth of what has been happening in Kurdistan!

10. We call on all workers, peasants and toilers of North Kurdistan: We will attain our liberation when the fascist Turkish Republic is overthrown by revolution!

The greatest revenge to take from the Turkish Republic is to topple this fascist Turkish Republic, built also upon the basis of negation of the national rights of the Kurdish nation, by revolution.

The fascist Turkish Republic can be overthrown only by the joint struggle of workers and toilers of all nationalities of North Kurdistan/Turkey, by the people's democratic revolution under leadership of the working class paving the way for socialism, and overthrown will it be sooner or later!

Let us get organized and fight for this goal!

This is also the correct way to bring those who kidnapped and hold Abdullah Öcalan prisoner to account!

THE ONLY WAY FOR THE FRATERNITY OF PEOPLES IS REVOLUTION!

The Attacks of the Fascist Turkish State Against the Kurdish Nation Intensify!

Neither Attacks Nor Provocations Can Stop the National Liberation Struggle of the Kurdish People!

A short while ago, the Chairman of the PKK, Abdullah Öcalan, had to leave Syria for Russia on the basis of war threats of the fascist Turkish Republic against Syria. It is reported that, owing to political pressure, Russia did not grant him the right to asylum. From Russia, A. Öcalan traveled to Italy, where he was detained by the security forces of the imperialist Italian State.

We condemn sharply each and every presssure, intimidation and attack on the part of the fascist Turkish State and all regional reactionary regimes as well as of all imperialist countries against A. Öcalan and the PKK, and through them against the Kurdish national movement.

We demand from Italy, that the Chairman of the PKK, A. Öcalan, be released immediately, and not handed over to any country demanding his extradition and punishment!

Neither Attacks Nor Provocations Can Stop the National Liberation Struggle of the Kurdish People!

Immediate and unconditional release of A. Öcalan!

Rejection of all demands of the fascist Turkish state and the imperialist German state to put A. Öcalan on trial!

Long Live the Right of the Kurdish Nation to Secede and Set up its Own State!

Long Live the Fraternization of Peoples!

The Only Way to Fraternization of Peoples Is the Revolution!

Bolshevik Party (North Kurdistan/Turkey)

15 November 1998

Statement by the Central Committee of the BOLSHEVIK PARTY (NORTH KURDISTAN/TURKEY

NATO FORCES' ATTACK ON YUGOSLAVIA IS AN ACT OF IMPERIALIST PIRACY!

LIBERATION OF KOSOVO PEOPLE DOES NOT LIE IN THE MILITARY ATTACK OF IMPERIALISTS!

FASCIST SERBIAN FORCES, HANDS OFF KOSOVO; IMPERIALISTS, HANDS OFF YUGOSLAVIA!

The NATO strike against Yugoslavia, which has long since been prepared both ideological-politically as well as militarily and practically, has begun. On March 24, NATO Secretary-General Solanas gave the final order for NATO strikes against Yugoslavia. In the night of March 24, NATO bombs have begun to rain on the heads of the people of Yugoslavia.

The NATO powers, headed by the US imperialists, motivate their attacks with hundreds of bombers and guided missiles with "stopping the human tragedy in Kosovo" and "forcing" the Yugoslav administration into a "peace accord". They describe that they are doing this in order to "protect human rights", prevent the "right to self-determination" of the Kosovo people from being trampled under foot by the Yugoslav administration, stop the massacres, the "ethnic cleansing" perpetrated by the Yugoslav forces in Kosovo.

Turkish NATO troops in Kosovo... The yellow press in Turkey chanted: "After 87 years of yearning Turkish soldiers again in Kosovo!"

Kosovo, indeed, has become one of the most important targets of attack by the Serbian chauvinists in recent years. After the dissolution of former Yugoslavia by contrivance of imperialists, Serbian chauvinists escalated the dosage of national oppression against the Albanians, making up the overwhelming majority of the population in Kosovo, so as not to let go Kosovo out of their hands as well. They extended the policy of "ethnic cleansing", tried and tested formerly in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, etc. to Kosovo as well. The despicable raids and massacres perpetrated by Serbian chauvinism brought as a righteous reaction to them the upsurge of Albanian nationalism among the Kosovo people. Armed forces raising the demand for the independence of Kosovo found an important support in a short period of time. As a result, Kosovo became a war theater proper. Serbian chauvinists waged and are waging a war of total "ethnic cleansing", genocide, to push the Albanian people of Kosovo out of Kosovo.

Inscribing the policy of "divide and rule" on their banner with respect to Yugoslavia and for this reason pretending to uphold the "right of nations to self-determination" in opposition to the centralism of Serbian chauvinists, Western imperialist powers backed Albanian nationalism in the war in Kosovo, while other powers siding with the Yugoslav ruling classes, above all Russia, took the stand that "Kosovo was an internal problem of Yugoslavia and no one had the right to intervene from outside".

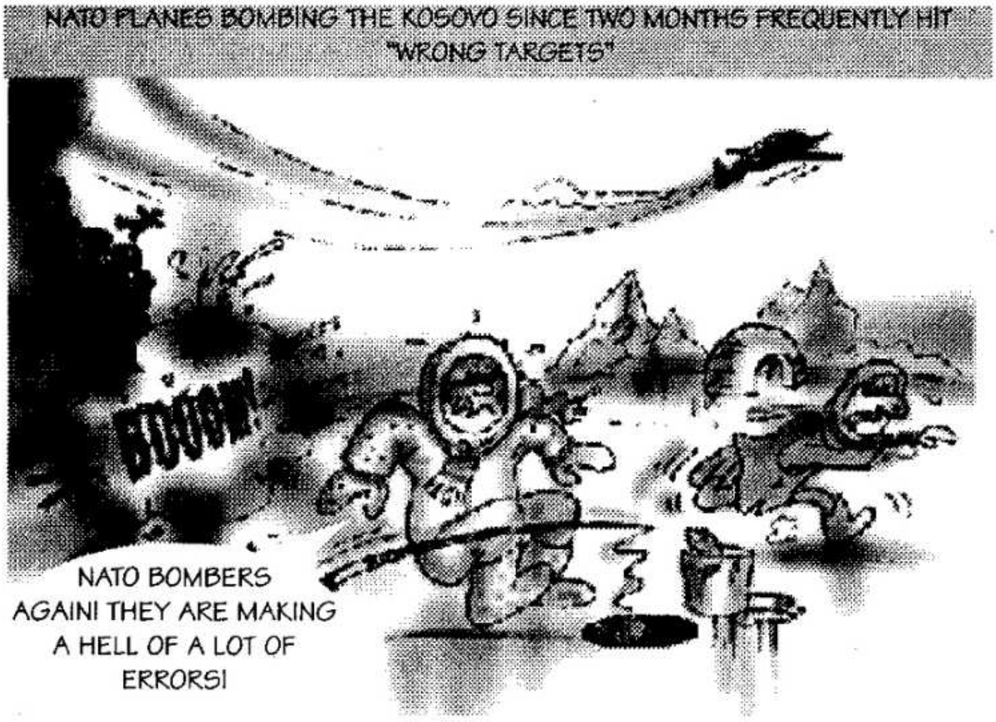
The long-term plan of Western imperialist powers is to tear Kosovo away from Yugoslavia in some manner or other and punish the Yugoslav administration (as in the case of Iraqi administration) for not being ready to do whatever they say. Since, however, open and public declaration of this plan under present circumstances is irreconcilable with some "principles" which they themselves purportedly uphold (such as not tempering with the international borders of states; improving the situation of oppressed nations and nationalities in multi-national states without changing their existing frontiers), as a first step, they tried to dictate to the parties a peace accord with the content of a broad autonomy status for Kosovo without infringing the territorial integrity of the present Yugoslav state. At the Paris peace negotiations, representatives of Kosovo finally signed this accord, although their real demand was independence for Kosovo, while Yugoslavia refused to sign it, since this accord foresaw also the stationing of NATO armed forces in Kosovo as guarantors, and in this sense openly negated the sovereignty of the Yugoslav state! For this reason, indeed, is raining bombs on the heads of the Yugoslav people since March 24. NATO powers raise a claim to "bombing" the Yugoslav administration "into peace"! In the next days and weeks we will see how realistic this claim will turn out!

There are a few things, however, which can be said right now:

* The claims of imperialist powers, that they want 'peace' in Yugoslavia, that they are waging war for peace etc. are simply not true. What they want is not real peace, not real unity and peace among nations on the basis of equality and of their own free will, but an imperialist "peace" dictated by, and whose limits and conditions are also imposed by, the imperialists in their own interests.

* War is for imperialists a very "profitable" business, indeed. Today armes sales is one of the most profitable sectors in world trade. And in this war, too, waged in the name of forcing Yugoslav leaders into peace, imperialists will through deployment of their armies and weapons make huge profits, and pave the way for making new big profits.

* Imperialist powers have no right to speak in the name of upholding "the right of nations to self-determination", "human rights" etc. On the issue of "human rights" violations, each and every one of them has at least as voluminous a criminal file as the Serbian chauvinists. NATO intervention in Yugoslavia in the name of human rights and the right of nations to self-determination is a big hypocrisy and a swindle. If that were the case, then NATO would also have to launch a military attack against one of its co-members, the Republic of Turkey. For she has been waging a war against the Kurdish nation in North Kurdistan for decades! What she has been doing in North Kurdistan does not differ in the least from what Yugoslavian Serb chauvinists and fascists are doing in Kosovo! However, as a member of NATO, Turkey is now participating in the mission of upholding human rights(!) and the right of nations to self-determination in Kosovo! Even this much suffices to demonstrate the dimension of this swindle!


NATO PLANES BOMBING THE KOSOVO SINCE TWO MONTHS FREQUENTLY HIT "WRONG TARGETS"
BOOOM!
NATO BOMBERS AGAIN! THEY ARE MAKING A HELL OF A LOT OF ERRORS!

* The matter, then, is not human rights etc., but naked imperialist interests! From the point of view of Western imperialists, the Yugoslav administration must be punished for not having done whatever they said. NATO must show its new role in the international plane to all the oppressed! As striking force of Western imperialist powers, NATO is ready and able to mete out punishment to every power that handles contrary to the "world order" dictated by Western imperialist powers! Precisely this is what the strikes against Yugoslavia should demonstrate! Each and every power in the world, when it seeks "solutions" other than those dictated by Western imperialist powers, will in the end be punished by the joint NATO military forces in the name of human rights, right of nations to self-determination etc.! This is what they want to say! This is the message they want to get across!

* As a matter of fact, this NATO operation has no means of support within the present framework of international law, either. Behind the acts of piracy undertaken against Iraq stood at least the UN resolutions! Here, the USA and other Western imperialist powers have not even felt the need for any legitimation for the sake of appearences any more. A UN member state is being hit militarily by NATO forces without a UN mandate or resolution, for the reason of an internal war in a region within its territorial integrity! With this operation, the NATO is in fact declaring that it is the world gendarm, above and beyond the UN as well. This is at the same time giving a browbeat to all other forces outside the NATO!

* Even when it does not reach its aim of pressurizing the Yugoslav leadership into signing an imperialist-dictated peace accord, this attack will achieve one thing for sure: that the war between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo will reach even greater dimensions; that for Kosovans of various nationalities, for whom the chances of co-existence has already been destroyed to a great extent, this chance will be extinguished altogether for a long time to come; that, in the meantime, Serbian fascists will raise their

actions of "ethnic cleansing" to a still higher level, so that, at the end, the present status of Kosovo will become impossible to bear. This war may end up with the "ethnically pure" regions of Kosovo going asunder altogether. For both the Serbian fascists as well as Western imperialists, this is a result on which they can come to terms with with each other!

We communists condemn this despicable act of imperialist piracy against Yugoslavia and demand an unconditional stop to it at once!

Imperialist powers, hands off Yugoslavia!

Just as well we condemn the NATO attack on Yugoslavia, we are also the most resolute opponents of "ethnic cleansing" actions perpetrated by Serbian chauvinism in Kosovo! Serbian fascists, hands off Kosovo! Kosovo people's demand and struggle for independence is just!

To achieve real freedom and liberation in this struggle is possible only by way of a struggle for revolution in which Albanian toilers of Kosovo stand shoulder to shoulder with Serbian and toilers of other nationalities in Kosovo.

To those who may say we were "utopians", we have this to say:

The result of your "realism" is at hand: A result which forces peoples to a choice between Serbian fascism oppressing Albanians, and imperialist predators "liberating" Albanians! Such a liberation is one in which, in reality, only the conditions of slavery change!

Peoples deserve real liberation! Sooner or later they will reach it by revolution!

The only path to the liberation of peoples, and their fraternity as well, is revolution!

The alternative to chauvinist barbarism is not nationalism!

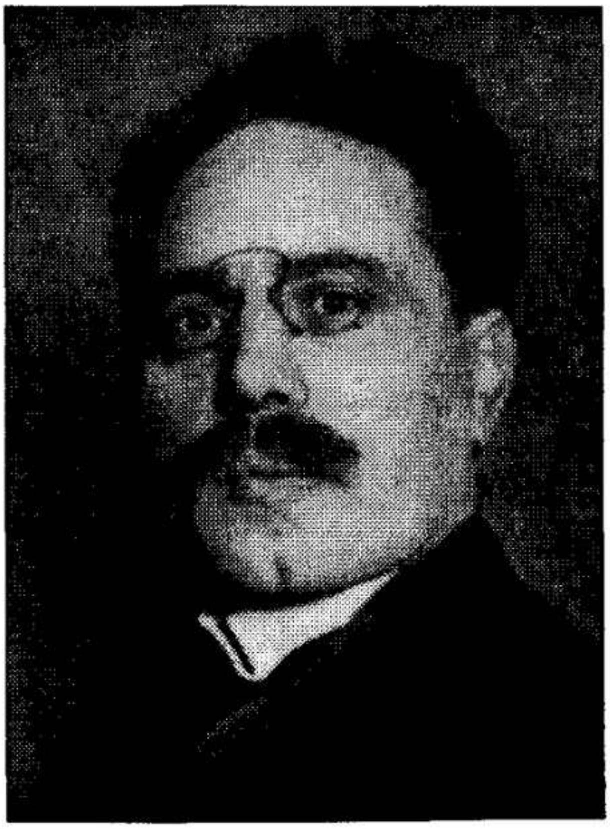
The only liberation for all the oppressed is to rally under the banner of proletarian internationalism and socialism of the working class and oppressed peoples!

March 25, 1999.

80th Anniversary of the Assassination of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht Pioneering Champions of the Proletarian World Revolution

FORWARD AND DON'T FORGET!

On January 15, 1919, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were murdered in Germany. The murder happened by order of the German social-democracy of the time and their chain dog Noske (Noske was Minister of the Reichswehr [German Imperial Army] between 1919–1920 and member of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, the SPD). That was the bloody answer of the ruling class in Germany to the struggle of these two Communists for revolution, to the attempt to push the November revolution in Germany forward and go onto the proletarian revolution, it was also the answer to the founding of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) at the turn of the year 1918/1919.



"The assassination of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg is an event of historical meaning not only for the reason that the best persons and leaders of the really proletarian, the Communist International have perished tragically, but also for the reason that the class character of an advanced European state finally revealed itself." (Lenin, Works, Vol 28, p 476f).

When we Communists from different countries take stand on the occasion of the anniversary of the assassination of

Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, then therefore, because the founding of the KPD and the subsequent assassination of Rosa and Karl was not only a blow dealt against the proletariat in Germany, but also against the international proletariat. Today, 1999, where the cruelties of imperialism step out more openly than ever, where worldwide the revolutionary, the Communist movement is very weak, where opportunism and reformism are prevailing in the Labor movement, it is more than ever important to remember these outstanding fighters of the proletariat. On the occasion of the anniversary of the assassination of Rosa and Karl this means to defend their fights: Fight imperialism – for the proletarian world revolution!

Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht – fight imperialism and colonial enslavement – fight social-chauvinism in one's own ranks

In contrast to the prevailing reformism in the social-democracy of those days, the fight of Rosa and Karl was always a revolutionary and socialist fight, their work was marked by a clear stand on imperialism: "Imperialism is bankrupt with its economic policy, with its nationalities policy, with its war policy. It is at the end of its wits. It can still spread ruin, misery and anarchy, and organize death. But it can build no more, organize life no more, it can lead the bourgeois society from anarchy and the bacchanalia of death to normal paths no more. Only socialism could do all this, the proletarian revolution, which would send the ruling gang of murderers into a tumble with a mighty jerk and show the tortured mankind the way out for a new social order." ("Spartacus Letters", August 1918).

Rosa and Karl fought against the crimes of German imperialism in the colonial and semi-colonial, dependent countries, against the genocide in Namibia, against the expansion of German imperialism in Turkey, against the genocide on the Armenian nation. Rosa, born in Poland, fought, after moving to Germany, particularly for the class solidarity of the Polish and German workers in the Poznan region and Upper Silesia and against the policy of Germanization, as well as against antisemitism in the SPD. The German imperialists conducted an evil chauvinistic smear campaign against the Polish population, Polish children were beaten up badly in the school for demanding instruction in their native tongue. The first joint activities of the Polish and German social-democracy took place in 1902. Rosa Luxemburg joined in too: "The common enemies of the working class are the capitalists, manufacturers, the nobility, the priests and the government. Therefore you must organize yourselves in the Social-Democratic Party which represents your class interests and defends the rights of the Polish people. It does not fight against the German people, but against the government and the capitalists which mercilessly exploit the Polish and German workers alike. Only power of the proletariat, united irrespective of nationality, will bring about a change." (Quoted from F. Oelssner, Biography of Rosa Luxemburg, p 23).

The fight of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht against imperialism was always united with the untiring condemnation of opportunism. Fight against imperialism meant for her fighting reformism and for the revolution. "The inseparable combination of imperialism with the capitalist development, whose legitimate child it is, ... that's what we must teach the working class to comprehend. And from this it must draw the consequence that one can fight imperialism, war, land robbery, haggling with peoples, infringement, policy of brute force, only in that one fights capitalism, in that one opposes the social revolution to the historic genocide. However, if one looks for remedies and solutions for its conflicts within imperialist politics and wants to oppose its storm and stress in that one tries to reduce it simply to the already overcome, so is that not proletarian, but petty bourgeois, hopeless politics. This politics is basically nothing other than always defending the imperialism of yesterday against the imperialism of today." (Rosa Luxemburg, ibid.)

The German imperialism, which saw itself getting less than it's "fair share" in the division of the colonies, pressed then for the redivision of the world and armed for the war. As at the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart 1907 it was represented that a colonial policy can work civilizingly, it was Rosa and

Nieder mit den Bluthunden
Nieder mit den Verrätern
Wir fordern sofortige Entlassung!

Karl who formed along with Lenin a front against the increasing chauvinistic politics within the social-democracy. Or when it came to the second Morocco crisis in 1911, it was again Rosa Luxemburg who clearly emphasized the content of the imperialist great-power politics: "The historical meaning of the Morocco conflict, reduced to its simplest and crudest expression, is the competition among the representatives of European capitalism for who is going to first plunge into the northwest corner of the African continent to devour it capitalistically." (Rosa Luxemburg Vol. 3, p 24). In the social-democracy, however, the majority under the leadership of Bernstein defended the imperialist exploitation of the colonies and refused demonstrations against the imperialist war policy: "For Germans who want to carry on trade and industry in Morocco, [one must] see to it that they get all the things they demand in all honesty and reason." (Bernstein, quoted in Rosa Luxemburg, Works, Vol 3, p 30). And it was again Rosa and Karl who in leaflets, speeches and demonstrations fought against the chauvinism of the social democracy and exposed this policy. "'In all honesty and reason' Mannesman and Krupp want to be allowed to demand that African workers be delivered to them as leather to tan! The right to be allowed to incite African workers in mines and plantations to death for capitalist profit, this is for our Bernstein the most honorable and most humane way!" (Rosa Luxemburg, ibid.)

When we remember Rosa and Karl today, that means for us that we take their fight against imperialism, their internationalist stand above all towards the peoples oppressed by our "own" imperialism, and their fight for the socialist revolution as our model. The conditions have not changed fundamentally today, we still live in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolutions, as always the peoples are bled white in all corners and ends of the world and enslaved by imperialist great powers. German imperialism plays a central role in this. Our struggle against it must be a revolutionary struggle like the struggle of Rosa and Karl, not for a couple of reforms or debt deletions and state agreements for the alleged improvement of the situation of oppressed peoples, but a revolutionary struggle for new-democratic revolutions under the leadership of the proletariat in the dependent countries and their continuation to proletarian revolutions as well as a struggle for the proletarian revolutions in imperialist countries.

Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht – fight for building the III. International

The collapse of the II. International became final, as the German social democracy, which was then the strongest and most influential party in the International, passed over in August 1914 with waving flags to the side of the imperialist bourgeoisie and agreed to the participation in the 1. World War.

Hoch
Alle Macht
den
A.S.-Räten

Rosa Luxemburg aptly described the socialdemocracy as a stinking corpse. Karl Liebknecht was the only MP who voted against the approval of war credits in the German parliament. This stand became an important political starting point for summoning up the revolutionary opposition within the German social-democracy. His slogans: “The main enemy stands in one’s own country!” and “War on war!” became the torch of the fight against imperialist World War, the symbol of the international solidarity of the working class. Along with Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin and Franz Mehring he founded the “Internationale” Group and called up in newspapers and leaflets for international action against the war and for building a new International: “Under the murderous blows of the imperialist World War, our pride and our hope, the International of the working class, collapsed ignominiously, and our German section of the International the most ignominiously, indeed. It is necessary to express this bitter truth, not in order to surrender to a fruitless despair and resignation, but, on the contrary, to draw from the ruthless knowledge of the committed errors and the given situation the promising lessons for the future.” (Rosa Luxemburg, Works, Vol 4, p 18 / Karl Liebknecht, Works, Vol VIII, p 68ff).

Lenin made clear that the collapse of the II. International was no coincidence, that opportunism was prevailing already long, and pressed for a fundamental rupture with the social-chauvinists. A new, socialist III. International had to be founded. In September 1915 the International Zimmerwald Conference was held in Switzerland. Karl Liebknecht sent a message of greetings to this conference, in which he called for converting the war into civil war (social war, not social peace!), for revolutionary class struggle, for a ruthless fight against the opportunist deserters and for building a new International: "The new International will arise on the ruins of the old; can only arise on the ruins of the old; on new, firm foundations. You, friends, socialists from all countries, have to lay the cornerstone today for the future building. Hold implacably court over the false socialists! Whip the wavering and the hesitating in all countries, also and especially those in Germany, ruthlessly forward! Long live international, emancipatory, revolutionary socialism!

Proletarians of all countries, reunite!" (Karl Liebknecht, Works, Vol VIII, p 307).

Although this conference was a step forward, as Lenin said, the centrists prevailed at the conference and prevented the adoption of a resolution over a fundamental rupture with the openly social-imperialistic parties of the social-democracy. Instead, they wanted to revive the corpse of the II. International. Around Lenin and the Bolsheviks, who acted most consistently, formed the international group of Zimmerwald Left, which won considerable influence in the following months.

Rosa Luxemburg wrote in prison her famous writing "The Crisis of Social-Democracy" (also known as "The Junius Pamphlet"), its guiding principles over the tasks of the international social-democracy were adopted in January 1916 by the illegal empire conference of the "Internationale" group. From then onwards the political publications were published under the name of "Spartacus Letters" and the base-line of the further politics developed against the opportunist forces: "What does 'unity' mean? – A new paralyzing discipline instead of the just broken? Three times no! Rallying without clarifica-

GERMANY 1918

KARL LIEBKNECHT ADDRESSING A [illegible] 1918

tion, without agreement? – no! Rallying the followers of the politics of 4th August, who reckon themselves today to the opposition? Rallying on the basis of this politics? – no! And not union on that medium line, on that broad and crooked compromise street of the Marxist center. No other rallying as on the straight path pointed by the principles of international revolutionary socialism, and from which may not be deviated by one foot, should the future not be a still sadder copy of the sad past and present. Not unity, but clarity on all matters. No mild tolerance – not in the opposition either –, but caustic criticism right up to the last fiber, painstaking reckoning down to the last penny. ... the purifying dispute will be continued in the opposition as well, until internationalism, until the absolute precedence of the international class struggle is acknowledged as the leading principle of the proletarian movement and has become flesh and blood of the readiness to revolutionary action. Or should new cover-ups, new blurring of border-lines stand on the threshold to the new International? Then immediately rather back to the old swamp, it is not deeper than the new one." ("Spartacus Letters", February 3, 1916).

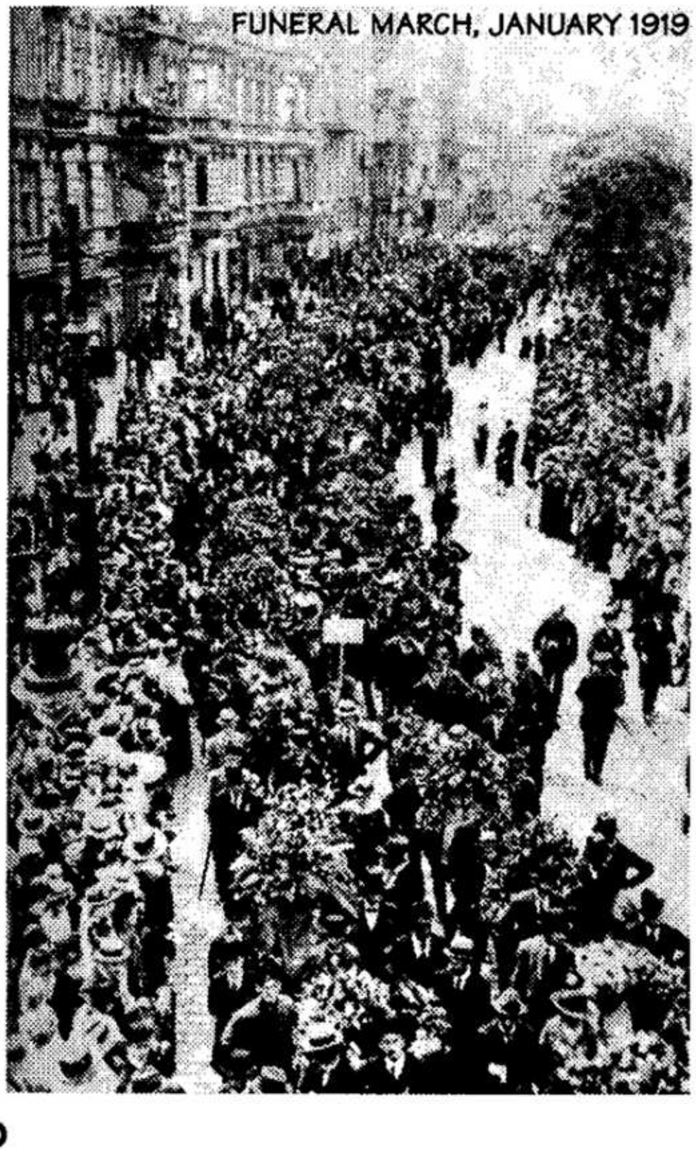
This Marxist stand of Karl Liebknecht led to a progressive demarcation within the opposition, to the growing together of the revolutionary forces and to the urging on of the revolutionary mass movements in Germany against the war and for the overthrow of the government. An initial effect for the final rupture with the opportunists and for founding the KPD in Germany was the struggle of the Bolsheviks in Russia and the successes of the October revolution: "Then ... only our Party, the Bolshevik Party, had resolutely broken with the old, Second International of 1889–1914 which so shamefully collapsed during the imperialist war of 1914–18. Only our Party had unreservedly taken the new path, from the socialists and social-democracy that had disgraced themselves by alliance with the predatory bourgeoisie, to communism; from petty-bourgeois reformism and opportunism, which had thoroughly permeated, and now permeate, the official Social-Democratic and socialist parties, to genuinely proletarian, revolutionary tactics. ... The foundation of a genuinely proletarian, genuinely internationalist, genuinely revolutionary Third International, the Communist International, became a fact when the German Spartacus League, with such world-known and world-famous leaders, with such staunch working-class champions as Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin and Franz Mehring, made a clean break with socialists like Scheidemann ... when the Spartacus League changed its name to the Communist Party of Germany. Though it has not yet been officially inaugurated, the Third International actually exists." (Lenin, "Letter to the Workers of Europe and America")

Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht – fight for the proletarian revolution in Germany

The imperialist bloodshed of the first World War had been going on for over three years already, as the news of the October Revolution in Russia rushed around the world, the news that in Russia the rule of the capitalists and big landowners was overthrown and the dictatorship of the proletariat, power of the formerly oppressed and exploited had been established over their slaveholders. A new historical era began, "the era of proletarian revolutions in the countries of *imperialism*". "The October revolution has shaken imperialism not only in the centres of its domination, not only in the 'metropolises'. It has also struck at the rear of imperialism, its periphery, having undermined the rule of imperialism in the colonial and dependent countries." (Stalin, "The International Character of the October Revolution")

Workers and toilers the world over were roused, and they grasped that the new Soviet power was really a government of the toilers and that every talk

FUNERAL MARCH, JANUARY 1919



of the "utopia of socialism", of the "impossibility of fighting the capitalist system" was a lie.

"Currently there is no worker in Europe, neither in England nor in France, nor in Germany, nor in other countries who does not take up the news over the Russian revolution with applause, because he sees in it the hope, the torch which will fan the fire in entire Europe." (Lenin, Works, Vol 26, p 492). This torch burnt throughout the whole world. In Argentina, Chile, Bulgaria, China, Denmark, Finland, France, England, India, Italy, Japan, Poland, Mexico, Austria-Hungary, Rumania, South Africa, in the USA, in Turkey and in many other countries revolutionary organizations called on the working people to follow the Russian example, and there was a gigantic increase in strike and mass movements. In Finland there was a fight for the takeover of power by the working class, workers' administrations were set up at the beginning of 1918, in Ireland almost the whole country was encompassed by a general strike against the enforced recruitment for the British army, in Argentina the Communist Party was founded, in Austria-Hungary workers' councils emerged after mass strikes, in Jamaica the establishment of unions was recognized after strikes.

At that time Germany was the country in which the contradictions developed the strongest after the October revolution. Already after the February Revolution of 1917 in Russia, mass actions had risen and the class struggle had intensified in Germany. With the overthrow of tsarism, the lie spread by the ruling classes of Germany of the defense war against tsarism was exposed, for the continuation of the war showed that the true intents of German imperialism were robbery and conquest. The Spartacus Group stood at the head of the mass movement in Germany and carried the consciousness of the necessity of proletarian revolution into the struggles: against "natural worries of the Russian revolution for the future, there is only one serious guarantee: the awakening of the German proletariat." "At this moment the password, the warning cry resounds over the international, over the German proletariat again, which only the great hour of a world change can bring: Imperialism or socialism! War or revolution! There is no third way!" ("Spartacus Letters" No. 5, May 1917). Lenin was convinced that the revolution stood also in Germany shortly before: "The German proletariat is the most loyal, most reliable ally of the Russian and the international proletarian revolution. Conversion of the imperialist war into civil war is beginning to become a fact. Long live the beginning proletarian revolution in Europe!" (Lenin, Works, Vol 23, p 386f). In the summer of 1917 the sailor movement, in January 1918 the strike of the ammunition workers and the mounting actions against hunger and war, all these were clear omens of a revolutionary situation. Lenin wrote then: "The growth of a world revolution is beyond dispute ... Most important, however, is the revolt in the German navy. One can imagine the enormous difficulties of a revolution in a country like Germany, especially under present conditions. It cannot be doubted that the revolt in the German navy is indicative of the great crisis – the growth of the world revolution." ("Letter to the Bolshevik Comrades Attending the Congress of Soviets of the Northern Region")

That the German November revolution in the last analysis failed and remained only a bourgeois revolution, this lay in the lack of a clear rupture with the traitors within the social-democracy, in the hesitant establishment of a revolutionary militant party of the proletariat.

The masses had by then enough of all the griefs of war, 2 million dead since 1914, the working hours had been extended extremely and the food rations did not even reach half their pre-war level. In 1918 the crisis of the ruling class, its inability to continue to govern in the present form, had matured. General Ludendorff had to explain at the end of September 1918 that the war was lost, the situation of the German army required an immediate truce. German imperialism had collapsed militarily. The concern of the ruling class now was to maintain its system with all force and to prevent the impending revolution. The terror against the working class was increased, the appeasement of the SPD and its henchmen in the unions strengthened, the monarchy was tried to be saved. Friedrich Ebert, chairman of the main committee of the SPD in the parliament, who hated the revolution like the plague, became chancellor and called for law and order. The outbreak of the revolution, however, could not be stopped for the time being any more.

The illegal empire conference of the Spartacus Group was held at the beginning of October 1918, which adopted a program for the revolution. The working class was called out to overthrow the government and to the revolution. Germany became the focus of world revolution: "In Germany lies the knot of the international situation; only the sword in the hands of the German proletariat can chop it through." ("Spartacus Letters" No. 12, October 1918).The revolution and the collapse of the monarchist Germany facilitated considerably the situation of Soviet Russia, with the help of the Red Army some occupied areas could be liberated. On November 20, 1918, the Soviet government of the Ukraine took up its activities. Heroic fights of the Baltic peoples for the Estonian, Letonian and Lithuanian Soviet Republic. In other countries as well, the revolutionary movement was furthered by the November revolution in Germany. There were revolutionary events in Austria-Hungary and the monarchy was overthrown, in Serbia began revolutionary actions, in Poland the Communist Party was founded, fights developed for the working-class power. There were mass actions in Paris, Marseille and Le Havre were founded sailors' Soviets, in England grew the strike movement. The "existence in the centre of Europe, in Germany, ... of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies was bound to revolutionize, and actually did revolutionize, the countries of Europe ... the workers had cast off their chains; and this in itself was bound to unloose the revolution in the West, was bound to call forth a rise in the revolution in European countries." ("History of the CPSU(B)", p 231)

November 1918... "Down with the war! Down with the government – Three cheers for Liebknecht!", under pressure from the masses Karl Liebknecht had to be released from prison at the end of October. On November 3 there was an armed revolt of the sailors in Kiel. In the next few days Germany was encompassed completely, Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies emerged, on November 9 came the nationwide general strike and armed uprising. Karl Liebknecht proclaimed at the Berlin Palace: "The day of the revolution has come. The old isn't any more. At this moment we proclaim the Free Socialist Republic of Germany." (Karl Liebknecht Vol. IX, p 594). The German emperor fled, the end of the monarchy was reached. Although the Soviets exercised real power in many cities and important gains were achieved like general suffrage (also for women!) or the eight-hour day, the influence of social-democracy was too large. Along with the USPD it formed a revolution government under the leadership of Ebert. At the same time the SPD concluded a pact with the Army Command which became the military basis of the counter-revolution. Practically, everything remained the same. The existing Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies were recognized only as consultative organs, the goal was to hand over their power to an elected National Assembly as soon as possible. Karl Liebknecht called this "bourgeois-democratic parliamentary play" and Rosa Luxemburg said: "The revolution has, instead of preventing the counter-revolution, strengthened the bourgeoisie and reaction. The bourgeoisie can not really wish a more favorable government for itself, it is the fig leaf for its counter-revolutionary goals. Socialism is not a question of parliamentary election, but a question of power. The proletariat must be equipped for it." (K. Liebknecht, Vol IX, p 631 and R. Luxemburg, Vol 4, p 457f)

The masses were systematically dulled and it was explained to them that they now had a "socialist government", that the goal of the revolution was reached. All this was planned counter-revolution, the old state apparatus got sufficient time to recover for suppressing the revolution.

"It seems that basically February is happening by the Germans and not October", wrote Lenin in November 1918. The German November revolution could not go beyond its initial successes and remained, as far as its character is concerned, a bourgeois-democratic revolution. The founding of the KPD at the turn of the year 1918/1919 also could not change this any more.

Arbeiter-Zeitung
Volksstimme
DĚLNICKÉ LISTY

Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht – fight for building a Bolshevik party

It was Lenin who on more than one occasion pressed the German lefts for an organizational rupture with the social-democracy and pointed repeatedly and precisely, that the absence of a clear line of demarcation to the opportunism of social-democracy, the absence of not only the creation of an ideological, but also an organizational unity weakens the fight for socialism. Rosa Luxemburg, for example, wrote in 1917, that one must fight within the SPD, that a split would be escapism: "This giant struggle must be fought out to the last. The liquidation of this heap of organized decomposition, which calls itself today social-democracy, is not a private concern to be decided by individual or isolated groups. It will follow the World War as an inevitable supplement and must be fought out as a big public power question by summoning up all one's strength. The decisive die of the class struggle in Germany will be cast for decades in this general clash with the instances of social-democracy and the unions, and it is essential for each of us up to the last: Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise!" (R.L. Vol 4, p 235f).

At first, Karl and Rosa founded the "Internationale" group (later the Spartacus Group) which, however, continued to be a component of the SPD. The Spartacus Group even joined the USPD (Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany) as Kautsky and Co. founded it in April 1917. Even as the Spartacus Group under the leadership of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht and also parts of the USPD then tried to raise the political consciousness of the masses in the revolutionary situation of that time and lead them to revolution, despite all these efforts, the treacherous influence of the SPD in the masses was too big. And Rosa and Karl came too late to grasp that this influence could be dammed by the founding of the KPD. The empire conference of the Spartacus League took place at the end of December 1918, on which the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) was founded. In his speech, Karl Liebknecht substantiated the necessity of a firm, resolute Bolshevik Party, without which a consistent struggle for proletarian revolution was impossible: "It is essential today to draw a clear line. We must become an independent party. When we part today, a new party must be founded, a party that stands in contrast to the pseudo-socialist parties, ... in contrast to the parties that abuse the word socialism to confuse the masses and play into the hands of the ruling classes, a party that resolutely and ruthlessly represents the interests of the proletariat, a party with a unanimous and unified composure of mind and will, a party in which the goal and the means to this goal are selected with a clear determination, with a determination that cannot be bewildered, in which the means are selected according to the interests of the socialist revolution, according to the interests demanded by the world socialist revolution." (K. Liebknecht, "Report on the Founding Congress of the KPD")

The January struggles were suppressed by counter-revolutionary troops and troops standing under the orders of the SPD, hundreds of revolutionary workers and soldiers were murdered, among them the co-founders of the KPD, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

Ernst Thälmann set out the tragedy, the decisive side of this defeat on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the November Revolution in 1928: "At the turn of the year 1918/1919 the masses were ready to fight. But the clear-sighted leader was missing who would have been able to organize this fight, who would have been able to shatter and eradicate the bloodhound Noske and his accomplices Ebert and Scheidemann along with their generals and White Guards through the systematic organization and implementation of the armed uprising. The revolutionary instinct, the incomparable heroism of the individual leaders of the Spartacus League, of the murdered leaders of our party could not replace the existence of an iron vanguard hardened to steel in the fire of revolutionary experiences. Karl and Rosa became victims of the barbaric social-democratic counter-revolution, precisely because they had not been able to forge the German proletariat the weapon which enabled the Russian proletariat to victory: the Bolshevik Party." (Thaelmann, Speeches and Essays in 2 Volumes, Vol. II, p 13).

Lessons for today

Eighty years have passed since the November revolution, since the founding of the Communist Party and since the assassination of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, two revolutionary pioneering champions of the international working class. What does it mean today for us to learn from the events of those days? Even if the bourgeoisie and its scientists and other apologists proclaim again and again that we live in a new era, in the era of "globalization", in which everything is allegedly so different, we ask: What is it that has changed so fundamentally? – Nothing, we still live in the era of imperialism, the same finance capital rules worldwide, the same imperialist great powers which arm for new wars for the redivision of the world. The globalization of capital has been a hallmark of the imperialist system for as long as anyone can remember.

To learn from the struggle of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht means to attack imperialism exactly like them and to propagate the necessity of its violent overthrow through the proletarian revolution. Precisely as also Rosa and Karl finally came to recognize, we must know that we must found a militant revolutionary party, a Communist Party, so that a fight against imperialism and for the proletarian revolution also can be successful.

Rosa and Karl said at the Founding Congress of the KPD 1918 that they arrived back by Marx. Today the world Marxist-Leninist movement is passing through its weakest period. Reformism and opportunism within the working-class movement are prevailing as never before and we must wage exactly as Rosa and Karl in all countries the fight against opportunism, against revisionism, against the swan songs for Communism. We must carry revolutionary consciousness into the actions and struggles of the masses and unite them under the revolutionary banner of the proletariat, under the banner of Communism. On the international plane we must strive for the unity of all Communist forces, organizations and parties on a Marxist-Leninist platform.

Fight for the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution, fight for the socialist revolution, or downfall into barbarism! Communism will conquer!

"The mankind stands before the alternative of dissolution and downfall into capitalist anarchy or rebirth through social revolution. The moment of decision has come. If you believe in socialism, now is the time to show it through deeds. If you are socialists, now is the time to act... And that's why we call upon you: Off to fight! Off to action!...

Workers of all countries!

We call upon you to accomplish the work of socialist liberation, to give the disgraced world a human face again and make that word true with which we often greeted ourselves in the old days and with which we parted: The International will be the mankind!

Long live the world revolution of the proletariat!

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

On behalf of the Spartacus League
Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg,
Franz Mehring, Clara Zetkin." ("Red Flag" of 25 November 1918)

DEMONSTRATION BY ARMED WORKERS, 1919

BDGP

Birleşik Devrimci Güçler Platformu
Platforma Hêzên Şoreşgêrên Yekgirtî
The United Revolutionary Forces Platform

Announcement of the Establishment of United Revolutionary Forces Platform!

We, PKK, TKP(ML), MLKP, TKP/ML, TDP, DHP, Devrimci Sol, TKP (Kivilcim) greet our people heartily to realize our unity in action that will advance the revolutionary struggle.

The United Revolutionary Forces forming the unity in action declare:

1- the recognition of their reciprocal independent, ideological, political and organizational existence and work. We are conscious of our differences. This, however, is no obstacle to marching together in certain points with concrete goals against the enemy jointly.

2- Setting out from the demands of the struggle and concrete conditions of each place and sector, the unity in action of the United Revolutionary Forces takes on various forms. These forms of struggle are determined according to different particularities of individual sectors of struggle.

3- The United Revolutionary Forces refuse to force their opinions on one another. They take it as their starting point to go together in points

Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan-PKK
Türkiye Komünist Partisi (Marksist-Leninist)-TKP(ML)
Marksist-Leninist Komünist Parti-MLKP
Türkiye Devrim Partisi-TDP
Devrimci Halk Partisi-DHP
Devrimci Sol-DS
Türkiye Komünist Partisi-Kıvılcım-TKP-K
Bolşevik Parti/Kuzey Kürdistan-Türkiye-BP/KK-T
Devrimci Sosyalist İşçi Hareketi-DSİH
Bethnahrin Yurtsever Devrimci Örgütü-DYDÖ

where an agreement is achieved, and to accept the free decision of the forces in the unity in action in points where this is not possible.

4- Our unity in action serves the demands of the practice of revolutionary fight. It refuses the idea of "unity for unity's sake". Unity in action is not an objective in itself, but a means to serve the revolutionary fight. To form a unity independent from the question of "what for and how?", is only for the showing. Our unity in action is concrete.

The State of the Turkish Republic is waging an all-round war against our peoples. Without opposing it, one can not even be a democrat. The special war waged by the regime of the Turkish Republic, founded on the negation of the Kurdish nation and national minorities and the mean exploitation of toilers, is experienced by all layers. We do not need to present this barbarism extensively. It is a crime to support this barbarism or to remain silent about it.

It is the right of the Kurdish nation, whose existence is not acknowledged and which is exposed to destruction, to determine its own fate freely itself. It is legitimate to rise up against the enslavement by the Turkish Republic, which robs this right of the Kurdish nation. The national and social war of liberation of the Kurdish nation and national minorities, of the proletariat and toilers against the unjust war of the Turkish Republic is just. The national, class, religious and gender oppression by the system of the Turkish Republic are facts. The just war sets itself the goal of destroying these injustices. Whoever bows to this unjust war and remains silent about it, makes himself/herself guilty before the mankind. It is an urgent task to fight it with a spirit of victory and a perspective of resistance. It can not be accepted that the bill of the crisis of the system should be paid by our peoples.

Revolution, that is the name for the intervention in the crisis. We find ourselves in a geographical area with good possibilities for continuing the revolution. These possibilities, however, will not of themselves lead to revolution. For this, conscious engagement is required. We stand not only before great opportunities, but also before serious dangers.

And one can oppose these dangers only by a conscious engagement. The Turkish republic, which is quasi a federal state of the USA, and cooperation between imperialism, Zionism and Kemalism are earnest dangers not only to the peoples of Turkey and Kurdistan, but also to all other peoples of the region. The operations of the Turkish Republic, which is a prison of imperialism and especially the US imperialism, against South Kurdistan can not be comprehended outside this fact.

Conscious of these facts, the United Revolutionary Forces grasp the fight against the Turkish Republic not independently from the fight against imperialism. Antiimperialist, anti-Fascist, antichauvinist principles are foundations for our unity in action. With this perspective, our unity in action is a meaningful answer to the need to centralize all revolutionary, oppositional fights and coordinate united revolutionary actions. The regime of the Turkish Republic will not be successful with its military suppression. Through projects like the UNITA (Angola –Tr.) they try to create allegedly "left" alternatives and degenerate the revolutionary fight.

Our unity in action refuses an alleged 'Leftism' in the wake of the MGK (the Turkish National Security Council –Tr.) and imperialist new world order. Democracy without revolution is impossible.

The fight for real democracy is one of the fundamental tasks of our unity in action. The counterguerilla, the Mafia, the bands are no isolated phenomena in the State of the Turkish Republic, but its characteristic features. And they are the result of this all-round unjust war of extermination waged by this State. All cliques of the ruling classes have united today on the concept of unjust war. So each government, which rose to power, has, as running dogs of the MGK, put on the war uniform. The Parliament, the media and all institutions stand in service of this all-round unjust war. These are all bare facts of the Turkish State. The alleged government, Parliament and constitution exist only on paper. The real constitution are the political documents of the National Security Council. The executive organs are no more than the crisis management of the MGK. Laws are concluded and practised by the National Security Council. All cliques of the ruling classes have been brought to the course of the State's helmsmen, the military. There are also conflicts of interests among them. But only under the precondition, that the official Kemalist ideology and the foundations of the State resting on it are accepted! Even the softest shaking of these foundations leads the military to draw with its "fine tuning" the acceptable boundaries. This is what the period of 28 February tells us. The fight for profit set the Kemalists again before the necessity of a restorative intervention on 28 February (On 28 February 1997 the MGK declared war on the governing islamistic Refah-party. The RP–DYP coalition government was defeated in Parliament –Tr.). Those who applauded it, –as if the military had hoisted the flag of progress–, have stepped under the command of the National Security Council. The enforced separation into laics and antilaics has roused serious illusions. Our unity in action declares once more, that the alternative of the peoples is revolution and socialism. In this fight it sets itself still broader goals.

The revolution is the way to accomplishing the complete equality of all nations, fraternization of peoples, the unity of the proletariat and all the oppressed, independence, democracy and socialism. Our unity in action serves this fight.

* Long live revolutionary solidarity!
* Down with imperialism, fascism and all reaction!
United Revolutionary Forces
(PKK, TKP(ML), MLKP, TKP/ML, TDP, DHP, TKP (Kivilcim), Devrimci Sol)

4.6.1998

Rider of the MLKP:
We find it from the viewpoint of the new tradition we want to create not right, that the circle calling itself "Dev-Sol" participates in such a platform and is represented at this level. A contrary approach would legitimize the fragmentation of the revolutionary movement.

The current (May 1999) members of the United Revolutionary Forces Platform are:

1. PKK (Workers' Party of Kurdistan)
2. TKP(ML) (Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist))
3. MLKP (Marxist-Leninist Communist Party)
4. TDP (Revolution Party of Turkey)
5. DHP (Revolutionary People's Party)
6. DS (Revolutionary Left)
7. TKP-K (Communist Party of Turkey-Kivilcim)
8. BP/KK-T (Bolshevik Party/North Kurdistan-Turkey)
9. DSIH (Revolutionary Socialist Labor Movement)
10. BYDÖ (Beth-Nahrin Patriotic Revolutionary Organization)

Bolshevik Partisan joined the Platform of United Revolutionary Forces with the following additional statement:

Additional Statement By Bolshevik Partisan For Signing The Platform:

* We find the method of making diverging opinions in points appearing important to the signatory organizations public, as is done by the MLKP in a footnote to the Platform, correct.

It is the task of revoutionaries to inform the masses also about the differences of opinion and this is not an obstacle at all to revolutionaries, united in the points where they aggree, to face the common enemy jointly.

* We find it necessary to make the following additional clauses to this document which we sign:

- We do not assess all signing organizations as revolutionary. For example, we are of the opinion that the present line of the PKK is reformist.
- With regard to the TKP (ML) we are of the opinion that such a group, because of the methods employed by them in the so-called "Kardelen Operation"*, should have no place in the DBGP (Platform of United Revolutionary Forces) which raises the claim to create a new tradition.
- We know that a big majority of the signatory organizations has done lots of things in their political practice up to now which stand in contradiction to the positions explained in this platform. We also know that political practice up to now has not been taken up in a self-critical manner. In this sense we assess this platform as a positive step in the right direction. Whether the correct positions set down in this platform will be put into practice must be pursued by all revolutionaries.

10 July 1998

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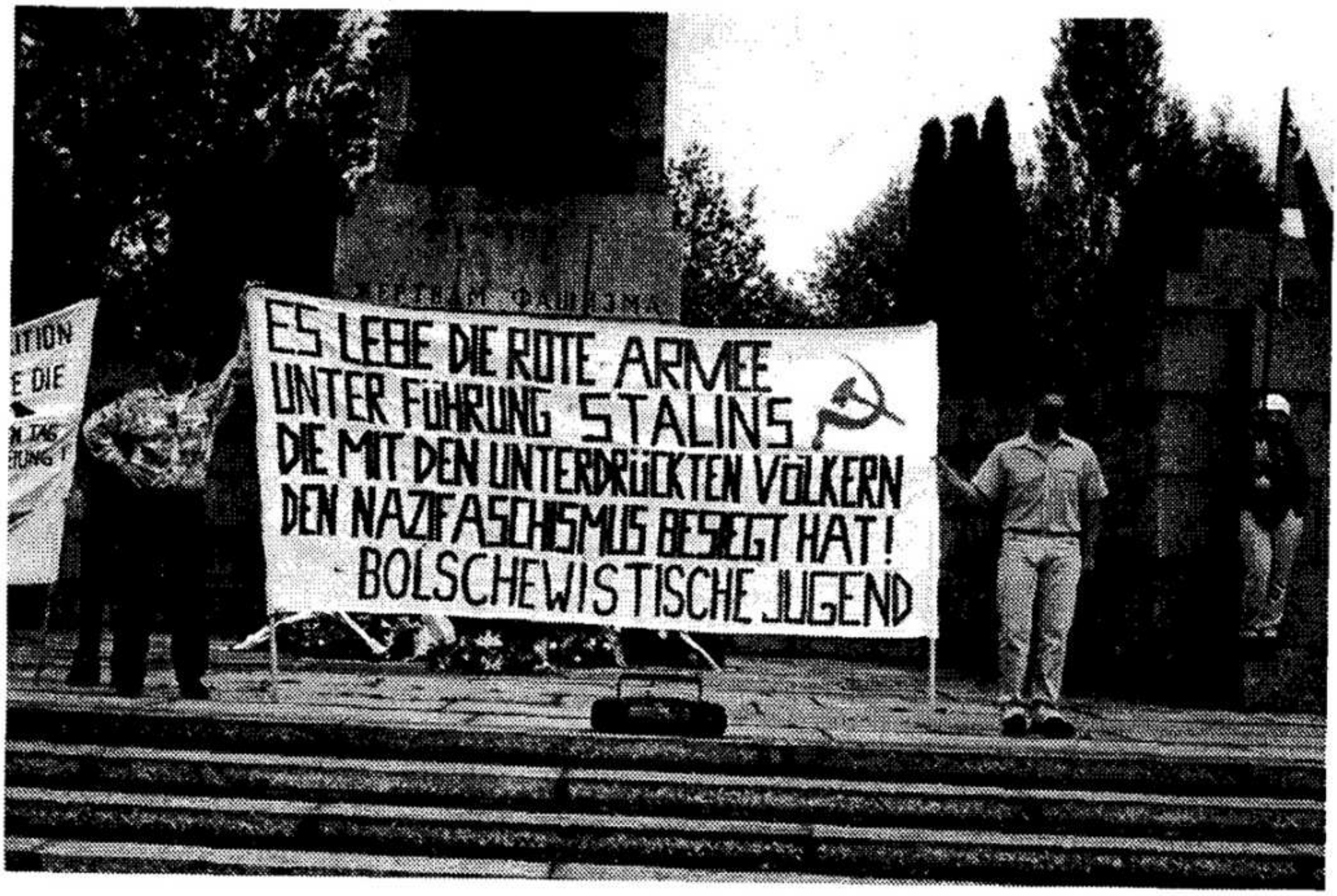
* The "Kardelen Operation" was an operation in the TKP (ML), whereby its present leadership explained to the public that the organization was infiltrated by cops right up to the Central Committee. Around 20 persons were declared to be under-cover agents and killed!

It does not suffice to declare every year: "Never forget!" "Fascism never again!"

With these slogans ardent anti-fascists, victims of fascism and their descendents come to Mauthausen and other memorial sites of fascist mass murder every year. Although these slogans are correct – **do they also suffice?**
Will it suffice to shout "Never again fascism!" or must one **do more to block the road to fascism forever?!**
To prevent fascism from ever coming again with its millions of murdered people, we must first of all recognize **where fascism comes from, its origins, its hotbed, its deeper reasons!**
It would be ridiculous to seek the reasons for fascism in human shortcomings, in the "abysses of the soul" or in lack of will-power of some individuals. No, fascism has its origins not in negative qualities of certain individuals, but

in the capitalist system itself!


ЖЕРТВАМ ФАШИЗМА
ES LEBE DIE ROTE ARMEE
UNTER FÜHRUNG STALINS
DIE MIT DEN UNTERDRÜCKTEN VÖLKERN
DEN NAZIFASCHISMUS BESIEGT HAT!
- BOLSCHEWISTISCHE JUGEND

It stems from a barbaric social order, from capitalism, in which only cash payment, **achievement of maximum profit** counts!

"Fascism is created by capitalism like rain by the cloud", is an accurate saying, "parliamentary democracy and fascism are nothing but two different faces of capitalism", is another one.

In fact, bourgeois democracy and fascism are nothing but two forms of rule, not equivalent, indeed, of one and the same EXPLOITING ORDER, two faces of the same medallion.

That means that there will be the **tendency** towards fascism, the **danger** of fascism as long as the capitalist order exists, with this tendency turning to fascism whenever the system is in danger. This is the explanation for the fact that in all of those famous "democratic" states there is not only the tendency towards fascism **but it is already on the march, that police terror is rampant and** that everywhere figures such as Haider, Le Pen, Schönhuber etc. are getting more and more insolent. That is also the explanation for the fact that a Social-Democratic Austrian minister of the interior denounces anti-fascism in his latest security report as a cover for "subversive intrigues", a danger for that "order" whose representatives also this year hold their unctuous as well as mendacious speeches here in Mauthausen!

No, to get rid of the danger of fascism, the "order" of exploitation and oppression of the toiling people, we must get rid of the capitalist barbarity!

Therefore only those can be consistent anti-fascists who give their best for **overthrowing this exploitive order. THIS** must we "never forget" if we seriously want that "fascism never again" exists!

Bolsevik Partizan (Österreich)
Initiative Marxisten-Leninisten
Marxistisch-Leninistische Partei Österreichs

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